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Akwesasne NOTES

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AKWESASNE'S ALCATRAZ

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

Canadian And U.S. Indians Move Onto Stanley Island



— Times Staff Photo

LAWMAN SPEAKS—Supt. A. A. Campbell of the Ontario Provincial Police held a parley with Mohawk Indians who have occupied Stanley Island in the St. Lawrence River since Saturday. The Mohawks contend the island belongs to their people under treaty and that their rights have

never been sold or leased. So far the occupation has been peaceful, but the Mohawks have called a picnic and conference Saturday to discuss the future of the island. About 14 summer cottages have been erected on the island.

Council Denounces Takeover

STANDARD-FREEHOLDER
MONDAY, MAY 11, 1970

Chief Angus Mitchell, chairman of the elected council on the St. Regis Reserve, today strongly objected to takeover by a group of Mohawks of Stanley Island.

In a statement today, Chief Mitchell described the demonstrators as "hoodlums" and warned they would "spoil everything by going over the heads of the band council."

He explained the elected council is currently engaged in legal efforts to break the old lease and reach a satisfactory solution.

Internal problems between council and another faction was admitted by the elected chief.

Chief Mitchell said the opposition group on the reserve would use any opportunity to assert its opinions.

Many are from the American side of the reserve, he said, and most are on welfare.

The chief fears the St. Regis lawyers in Ottawa may drop

the Stanley Island dispute if there is any further trouble.

He said the opposition band is considerable in size but he didn't give any estimate as to the number of members. Most of them are against the modern elective system of governing the reserve, he added.

The Indians on Stanley Island are acting "as individuals for their own personal gain," Franklin Benedict, administrator for the St. Regis Band Council, said.

Franklin Benedict, band council administrator, said Monday the group of Indians reclaiming the island are seeking personal glory.

QUESTIONS GLORY
"There's not much glory sleeping in a tent for two cool nights," Mr. Boots said.

He said if the band council were serious about breaking the lease it would have already reclaimed the island.

Mr. Boots said he doesn't think the St. Regis Band Council truly represents the Indian people.

Mr. Benedict said the Band Council has been working for two years to break the island's lease, and is now making headway in its fight. He will distribute these facts in the reserve's monthly newspaper, he said.

The group of Indians who say they have reclaimed the island are now trying to share the credit for their personal honor, the administrator said.

"They do not represent anyone but themselves."

Mohawk spokesman John Boots said today he resented an article that appeared in this newspaper quoting Chief Angus Mitchell's statement that the Indians on Stanley Island were from the American side of the border.

"Most of the Indians here are from the Canadian side," he said. "We have one Indian here only, today, from the American part of St. Regis Reserve."

In a release issued yesterday, the Indians stated: "The Government may make it appear that we are just a small group of rowdies, spurred on by outside agitators, violating the laws, causing trouble for the 'progressive' Indians. But we are genuine Mohawks, patriots of the Mohawk Nation, thinking of our Mohawk children, and what we do is perfectly legal."

"So it is all up to the people of Akwesasne (St. Regis Reserve). Let us put our minds together as one people, dedicated to this one thing: Stanley Island is ours. We will not be swayed by side issues, and we want to clearly establish this one fact."

They claim their right to the island, as well as other islands and land, was confirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

Indian agent Rene de la Roche said if the cottagers don't complain, the Indians can stay on the island.

However, he said the Indians apparently are not on cottagers' land so they have no complaint.

The Band Council could also request the removal of the Indians from the island, he said.

STANDARD-FREEHOLDER, MONDAY, MAY 11, 1970

the cottagers and tell them what it's all about.

By DENNIS FINLAY
Staff Writer

A no trespassing sign was nailed to a tree on Stanley Island Saturday afternoon by a group of Indians who say they are reclaiming the island with its nine-hole golf course as part of the Mohawk nation.

The Indians have pitched tents, built a bonfire, are fishing and plan to stay on the island "indefinitely," said John Boots of St. Regis Reserve, one of the leaders. The island is in the Summerstown area.

The group of Indians who say they are reclaiming Stanley Island has grown considerably and more are expected.

There were about 70 Indians on the island Monday and they strolled around the lush golf course, fished, sang and danced and kept a watch for anyone coming onto the island.

Mr. Boots handed out a press release, which reads:

"Stanley Island, located in the St. Lawrence River, is one of many islands belonging to the Mohawk Nation of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy."

"The title to Stanley Island has never been sold or leased by the Mohawk Nation at any time."

TRESPASSING CHARGED

"There are at this time individuals now trespassing on our nation's lands. We are, therefore, asking the individual cottage owners concerned to vacate Stanley Island immediately."

"Since the department of Indian Affairs has taken the initiative of illegally leasing our islands, we suggest the cottage owners be compensated from the department of Indian Affairs of Canada for their foolish error in manipulating land that does not concern them."

The island was leased by the department for 99 years to an American in 1900 for \$8. per year. The lease has changed hands about seven times since then and is currently held by Mayor Jean-Paul Touchette of Alexandria.

Mayor Touchette said he rents and for 13 cottages on the island and has two himself.

If the lease is not legal, he said, "I'll take my money back."

He said the Indians are "more than welcome. There is some misunderstanding somewhere."

He said he would not go on the island, but he would be ready to meet the Indians.

However, he said the situation was in the hands of the department of Indian affairs.

There were two or three cottagers on the island Saturday. The Indians met one, R. R. Spafford of Montreal.

Mr. Boots and Tom Porter, another Indian leader, said they would not bother the cottagers or try to damage the cottages. They said they wished to meet

Ontario Provincial Police made routine checks of the 15 cottages on Stanley Island this morning.

However, Superintendent Allan Campbell of OPP headquarters at Long Sault said no cottagers had reported any break-ins.

Sgt. H. J. Buttle and about 10 members of the Ontario Provincial Police were on the island Saturday afternoon.

Sgt. Buttle told Mr. Porter and Mr. Boots, "My boys won't bother you. Enjoy yourselves."

Posters have recently been nailed to trees. Some read, Pay Your Rent. One poster depicts the department of Indian affairs as a long-necked bird with its head under water.

The reclaiming of the island by a group of Mohawk Indians, who say they are governed solely by the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, has increased the business of at least one marina in the Summerstown area.

One owner said his employees have been busy all week transporting sightseers to the island.

Concerning the lease, Mr. Boots said he does not believe that Indian land, as stipulated in the Indian Act, is Crown land.

The island has belonged to the Indians "since time immemorial," Mr. Boots said. He said the Indians have never surrendered the land and enjoy living there.

FROM CAUGHNAWAGA

There were 12 Indians from the Caughnawaga Reserve near Montreal supporting the St. Regis Reserve group. Chief Pete Diome of Caughnawaga, said his people would take shifts supporting the island.

One of the leaders, John Boots said he was expecting a large group from Maniwaki to arrive soon.

The Indians on Stanley Island also want the St. Regis Reserve Band Council to resign.

They are circulating a petition, which they say 200 have already signed, which states:

"We, the undersigned members of Akwesasne (St. Regis Reserve), believe that the Indian Act Band Council Self government system is the way the Government of Canada is using to deprive us of our homeland and to destroy our way of life."

"We therefore demand that the present members of the council honor their people by resigning immediately so that we do not co-operate in our own destruction."

Ten Indians who were traveling with the White Roots of Peace, an Indian communications group which visits college campuses and Indian reserves, were in the Philadelphia area when they heard of the island takeover.

They immediately went to the island.

Mohawks State Archives Show Systematic Loss Of Control Over Islands 2

A group of St. Regis Reserve Indians stated today that non-Indians have been trying to take away their islands in the St. Lawrence River since pioneer days.

The recent move to re-occupy Stanley Island underlines increasing exasperation and impatience with officials who seem to block all efforts to keep the lands under Indian control, Mohawk spokesman Tom Porter said.

It would be easy to dismiss the recent island occupation as the work of "brush Red Power advocates," he said. "Or as an isolated legal mix-up, except that many of the most conservative and elderly members of the Reserve back up the island's occupation."

Meeting at Hogansburg on the U.S. side of the reserve this week, the Mohawks charged there has been a systematic loss of Indian land. The group recently collected data from the Archives at Ottawa, on which they base their claims.

When white settlers came to this continent, Indians asked annual payment for land, such as a bushel of wheat every spring collected by chiefs who travelled from the head of St. Lawrence River near Kingston right down to the Quebec border to collect the rents, they said.

Then in 1763, a British official in charge of Indian affairs sold Indian lands to settlers.

"Still today, the Canadian government and province of Ontario are unable to show any treaty or document to show how these lands ever were transferred from the Mohawks," said Mr. Porter.

"The people of Akwesasne had some income from leasing lands, but unscrupulous individuals were starting to swindle Indians. Soon leases claiming to be for 999 years were registered with county clerks. And settlers were refusing to pay their bushel of wheat."

Mr. Porter said that a few miles upstream from Stanley Island, David Sheek claimed he held a lease for 999 years at a rental of \$20 per year for 1,100 acres on what he called Sheek Island.

Mr. Porter charged Indians didn't find out about the 999-year clause until after the first 99 years was up. "Then they wanted their land back, but cottage owners protested and Indians finally forced government to take them to court."

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favor of the Indians and the leases were declared null and void.

But director of Indian Affairs of the time, Duncan Scott, made it known he was against Indians taking possession of the islands," said Mr. Porter. He wrote to Dominion Police in 1919: "The Indians are apparently determined to exercise control over these islands, which the department can't allow at the present time. If any island has been taken possession of, you will be good enough to notify Indians they must abandon them; otherwise stern action will be taken for their removal," said Mr. Porter.

At the same time, the government attempted to give authority and stature to councillors elected under the Indian Act and advised Indians seeking to reclaim islands through law that councillors were not recognized as chiefs as they were not elected as provided for in the Indian Act, Mr. Porter said.

Chief Angus Mitchell of the St. Regis Band Council countered today, however, that the chiefs are elected under the terms of the Indian Act and that the band council is the only faction of the island which can legally deal with Indian lands. SHEEK ISLAND

On the question of Sheek Island, Indians also made their position clear, said Mr. Porter. They knew that under the Indian Act government couldn't legally lease out their lands unless a majority of electors agreed to surrender the land.

A delegation of leaseholders button-holed their members of parliament and in 1927 a new law was passed called the St. Regis Islands Act, Mr. Porter charged. The new law provided that the protection to the Indians of St. Regis under the Indian Act by requiring a surrender of the lands, would no longer be necessary. "The minister of Indian Affairs was given the sole authority to lease out



TOM PORTER, LEFT, and Saksari, RIGHT, walk by one of the 15 cottages on

Stanley Island. The Indian group has grown to about

70 and more are expected. This cottage faces the St.

Lawrence Seaway. Saksari is one of 10 Indians who left

the Philadelphia area to join the group on the island.

(Staff Photo)

1763 DECREE CITED

Mohawks Still "Camp-In" on Island Canadian Police Stand Guard

MASSENA — The sound of the drums of the Mohawks can be heard from Stanley Island, where a group of Indians from the St. Regis Reserve continue to "hold" the island.

Supt. A. A. Campbell and Sgt. Major J. E. Leggett of the Ontario Provincial Police, accompanied by several officers, arrived at the island by boat Monday to confer with the chiefs of the Mohawks.

Nine of the chiefs from St. Regis and Caughnawaga were present and the discussion was quiet and orderly, with the Mohawks insisting that, if there ever had been a legitimate lease, it was broken and expired.

The Indian encampment on the south side of the island is a colorful sight. A huge sign, "no trespassing — this is Mohawk territory" forms a backdrop for a large circle of old church pews and logs which are arranged in a semi-circle around a big camp fire.

All of the cooking is done over the fire and Indian bean soup was on the menu Monday afternoon, with sandwiches and homemade biscuits.

The chiefs has donned their traditional round head-dress for the confrontation with the police and most of the women were wearing beaded headbands.

The Mohawks insisted to the police that their right to the island was confirmed in the royal proclamation of 1763. The men from the O.P.P. said it was not within their province to settle the matter Monday and asked only that the "take over" be peaceful.

Dancing to the music of the drums and "rattles" began after the police left.

The dispute over the island is complicated by the existence of two groups of Indian rulers, the three "elected chiefs" on the American side of the border and the Canadian Band Council, which is supposed to deal with and for the Canadian government.

The Indians' Monday explained their position in a statement which follows in part.

"For centuries and centuries the Iroquois of Akwesasne (St. Regis) have lived on the St. Lawrence River about 60 miles upstream from Montreal. There our people had large cornfields, villages, and homes both on islands and on the mainland.

"Their right — and ours — to the land and islands was confirmed in the royal proclamation of 1763. Our people welcomed visitors to live among them, and in exchange for a few bushels of wheat or a calf, they leased out much of the land to Loyalists and French Canadians.

"When Canada became a country in 1867, it said that Indian lands were 'crown lands' that is, that they belonged to the queen. But we do not recall ever selling these lands, nor do we recall being defeated by the British. In fact, we often saved the British from embarrassing defeats. These are still our lands.

"But about 1870, among the lands leased out was Stanley Island. It is on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence River, about 40 acres in size. This time the lease was made

out by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (or her majesty and the queen and it gave us the generous sum of \$6 a year.

"Although for a long time we have questioned the validity of the lease, we were told that it would expire in 1970. And so, rather than cause too much trouble, we waited for the lease to run out so we could have our island back.

"And so now the lease is run out. The island is ours again. But the government of Canada has not moved off the people it made the lease with. They do not seem to want to leave. This is why we, the people of Akwesasne, have reclaimed this land which belongs to us of the Mohawk Nation. We are simply camping on our own land and we do not intend to leave."

OTTAWA (UOI) — Canadian police have been instructed to ensure the safety of private property on Stanley Island, a possible first step in eviction of 60 Mohawk Indians who have invaded and occupied the island in the St. Lawrence River since last Saturday.

Jean Bergevin, assistant deputy-minister of Indian Affairs, said Wednesday the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Ontario Provincial Police had been instructed to ensure there was no damage to private property on the island, which is located in the river near Cornwall, Ont.

"The only authority at this point is the band council, but they have sent us a resolution asking the department to do its best to calm things down," he said.

No Legal Rights Bergevin noted most of the Indians occupying Stanley Is-

land were from the U.S. part of the reserve, which spans the St. Lawrence River and includes land in Ontario, Quebec and New York State.

"The Canadian band council can not control the actions of Indians from the states," he said.

In the meantime, Bergevin said the band council was continuing its "businesslike negotiations" with the non-Indian residents of Stanley Island.

The private property owners, most of whom are called "cottagers" because they have summer cottages on the island, were informed three months ago that they have no legal right to be on the island even though there have been no Indians on the island for about 100 years.

"The band council was quite reasonable and began discussions with the cottagers," he said. The trouble began when "this became known to American members of the band who did not want to talk business."

Because there are no papers on record establishing the cottagers right to occupy the island, they "have no legal standing whatsoever right now," Bergevin said.

However, if the Indians wanted to occupy the land themselves, they would have to pay compensation to the cottagers for the improvements which have been made — including a golf course and some elegant summer homes, Bergevin said.

He said it was "very unlikely" the Indians would want to pay the compensation or take over occupancy of the land. He indicated they would prefer the sizable rents that would come in from the properties.

MORE NEWS ON STANLEY ISLAND ON PAGE 4, 5 & 6

Watertown Daily Times
Watertown, N. Y.
May 12, 1970

CALENDAR

MAY

29-30-31 American Indian & Western Relic Show and Sale, Goodmans Hall, Oakland, Cal. (276-1389 for information)

JUNE

2 Taholah, Washington -- Indian Day
5-7 Delaware PowWow at Copan, Okla. (Numerceus Falleaf, Caney, Kansas 879-2375)

6-7 National Indian Bowling Tournament, Triangle Bowl, 5151 E. Pomona, Los Angeles, Calif. (724-1568)
7-9 Tanana, Alaska -- Tana Indian Festival
6-7 Ashaway, Rhode Island -- Tomaquag Indian Museum.

8 New Mexico (Sandia, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Taos, Santa Clara, Cochiti, San Domingo) -- Buffalo Dances on San Antonio's Day
10-12 5th Annual Conference on Indian Alcoholism, Dulce, Arizona; Jicarilla Apache Res (V.W. Werner, Box 312, Dulce.)
12-14 Albuquerque Intertribal Club PowWow, Albuquerque Indian School. (Ralph Zotigh 1105 Walker N.E., Albuquerque)

13-14 All-American Indian PowWow between Milford and Hewitt, New Jersey on Warwick Turnpike. ((201-697-6659 info.)

14-15 Elgin, Illinois -- Annual Song of Hiawatha (Mohawk Pageant)

15-20 Henrietta, Oklahoma -- 3rd Annual United Tribal Convention, Clifton Hill Chairman. Speakers: traditional, religious, and medicine people.

19-21 Kickapoo PowWow, Horton, Kansas (Steve Rhodd, Horton)

19-21 Four Corners Intertribal PowWow, Ignacio, Colorado (Thelma Pinnecose, Box 53, Ignacio)

20-21 Monroe, New Jersey -- Middlesex Fair-ground, East Brunswick, N.J. (Sam Cahoon, 335 Hillcrest Rd., Warren, NJ)

20(?) Lodge Grass, Montana -- Sun Dance, Crow Reservation.

18-21 LaGrande, Oregon -- Indian Festival of Arts (963-6255 for information)

25-27 Mid-America All-Indian Center of W ighita, Kansas Rodeo (Jay Hunter, Box 1638, Wichita)

27-30 Box Elder, Montana -- Cree Sun Dance and Encampment; Rocky Boys Reservtn.

28-29 Iroquois PowWow, Schenectoke Fair-grounds, north of Albany, N.Y. (201-697-6659 for information)

29 Acoma and San Felipe, New Mexico -- San Pedro's Day

JULY

1-4 Mescalero, New Mexico -- Apache Gahan Ceremonial

1-5 Washington, D.C. -- Smithsonian Inst. Folk Festival, featuring Southern Plains Indians

2-3-4 Ashland, Montana -- Tongue River Northern Cheyenne PowWow

1 Williamsport, Pa. -- Indian Festival

2-5 (?) Cannon Ball, North Dakota -- Standing Rock Reservation

2-5 Oklahoma (Pawnee, Binger, Carnegie, and Geary) -- Dances, powwows and homecoming.

3-5 Red Lake, Minnesota -- Indian Celebration

3-5 Quapaw PowWow, Quapaw, Okla. (Tony McKibben, Route 1, Quapaw)

3-7 Arlee, Montana -- Flathead Reservation

4 Nespelem, Washington -- Colville Circle 10 day encampment

4 Incheilum, Washington -- Incheilum Rodeo, Colville, Reservation.

YOUR COOPERATION IS NEEDED TO BRING THIS CALENDAR UP TO DATE, TO MAKE ANY CORRECTIONS, AND TO ADD NEW EVENTS, PARTICULARLY IN CANADA. If you know of any Indian conferences, pow-wows, conventions or similar events, write AKWESASNE NOTES, Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

Writers who would like to submit a short story, poetry or personal narrative to an anthology of creative writing by contemporary Indians are invited to contact Brother Benet Tvedten, OSB, Blue Cloud Abbey, Marvin, S. Dakota 57251.

Exhibitions of AKWESASNE NOTES April issue were arranged by the University of Exeter in England and by Dartmouth University in Hanover, New Hampshire.

A contribution toward printing of the last issue was made in memory of Chief Elmer V. Merkhofer.....Cub Scouts are having an Indian Summer Festival at Weequahic Park in Newark, N.J. and hope some real Indians show up to say hello on June 27th, 10 a.m.

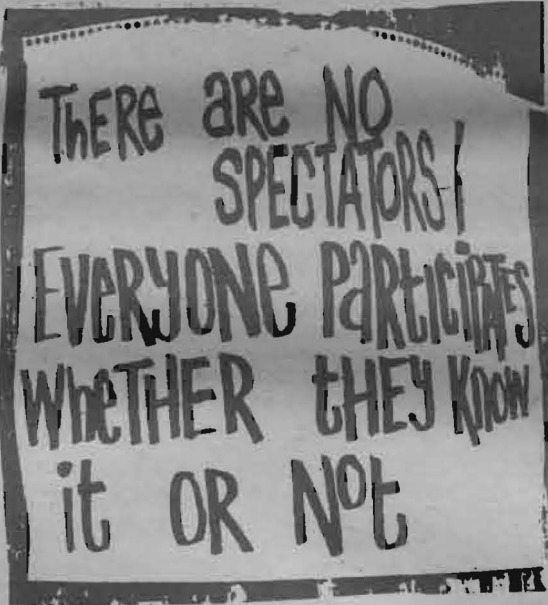
Americans may be interested in The Northian published by the Society of Indian Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. \$5 membership fee....ERIC CRESS Newsletter for December, 1969 (New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, N.M.) has info on Indian programs, scholarships and aid, and a bibliography on American Indian Education.

\$1 gets you AMERICAN INDIAN AUTHORS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY (45 pages) from American Indian Affairs Assn, 432 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016.KENOMADIWIN means Northern Ojibwa Radio for community education. George Simard, coordinator needs funds, tapes for rebroadcast, encouragement. Write him at Box 729, Nipigon, Ontario.

University of New Mexico Law School has lots of books on Indian Law, Congressional Hearings, Claims Commission Decisions, etc. They will make arrangements for loans-by-mail to tribal officials, attorneys, and serious scholars. Write Joe Sabatini, Univ. of N.M. Law School, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106. (UNM has 120 Indian students.)

Southern Calif. Committee for Taos Indians 2610 W. 8th, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057 is circulating a raffle-petition to help Pueblo restore sacred Blue Lake to them (House Bill 471).

Levi Simon, age 90, Ojibwa medicine man of Penitanguishene, Ontario, honoured recently for his wisdom and great guidance....Vancouver has an Indian University, THINK INDIAN. Three month sessions for 16 in residence, evening classes too. Write Jocelyn Wilson, 2196 Columbia St., Vancouver 10, B.C.



For information about Stanley Island occupation phone area code 518-358-2674



Six Nation Indian Museum Onchiota, N.Y.

AKWESASNE NOTES is published monthly except for February, August, and November, by Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut 06457, (Indian Studies Program).

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SEND FORM 3579 AND ALL CORRESPONDENCE

AKWESASNE NOTES BOOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683

Application for mailing at second class rates pending at Massena, New York 13662 post office. (Original entry at Putney, Vermont 05346.)

EDITOR: JERRY GAMBILL

Redeye



ELECTIONS ACCORDING TO THE INDIAN ACT WILL SOON BE HELD ON THE CANADIAN SIDE OF THE RESERVE AT AKWESASNE WITH NOMINATIONS TO BE HELD ON May 30.

ELECTIONS ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK WILL BE HELD ON THAT HALF OF THE RESERVATION IN JULY.

SOME PEOPLE SAY NO MATTER WHO WINS, WE ALL LOSE.

MAYBE IT'S THE SYSTEM?

"The Indian Act only breeds sorrow, contention, hatred, disrespect of family ties, spite against one another, and absence of unity among us Indians."

Petition from Akwesasne 1894

"Since the change of our chiefs into councillors, sorrows manifolded, we have lost many advantages, it has caused family disputes, brother against brother. It has separated them, and it has caused an ill feeling which is yet burning."

Petition from Caughnawaga, 1897

ABOUT THIS PAPER

In between occupying islands, planting gardens, and earning money enough to subsidize this paper, we do try to put out a monthly North American Indian Newspaper from Akwesasne (where the Partridge drums, in Mohawk).

You can help in many ways. We're anxious to have names and addresses of people who should get this paper.

We need money for printing and postage — there is no subscription rate, but we have to pay out well over \$1,000 each month.

And sell the paper at pow-wows, schools, churches, stores. That helps too.

Keep sending clippings — and writings.

Be patient if we owe you a letter — we are trying.

THE WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE

Editor: Jerry Gambill

IF YOUR ADDRESS LABEL IS IN RED, YOU WILL NOT RECEIVE ANOTHER ISSUE UNTIL WE HEAR FROM YOU.

Because the paper is sent free, we have no other way of knowing if you wish to continue receiving it.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE US!

TO RECEIVE THIS PAPER, WRITE AKWESASNE NOTES, ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683

Access To Property 4 Again Matter Of Dispute

A Mohawk Indian's efforts to build a home near customs property on Cornwall Island is in dispute again.

T. J. Quigg, director of administration for the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, said Wednesday the matter "would be put in legal hands as soon as possible."

Dispute arose last fall when Mike Mitchell cut a hole in a Seaway Authority fence to gain access to property he owns and is attempting to build on. Latest incident came when Mitchell crossed Authority lawns with a tractor load of building materials.

Mitchell charges that Joseph Donihee, manager of Seaway International Bridge, threatened to call police and have him

arrested for trespassing. Mr. Donihee counters that his complaint was that Mitchell was stocking building supplies on bridge property.

Mitchell owns 30 acres of land on the south side of the toll house. His original complaint was that a fence on Seaway property blocked access to it.

Seaway officials cautioned Mitchell last fall that the busy roadway might be hazardous to the safety of children. Mitchell countered conditions would be no worse than those in any city.

Mitchell says he hopes to have the house built by the end of summer. Three cousins own adjacent plots, and Mitchell says at least one of them plans to build in the same area.

Indians to "evict" whites

OLD TOWN, Maine (UPI) — The Penobscot Indians handed an eviction notice to the white citizens of Old Town Monday.

The Indians presented the notice at a City Council meeting. City Manager David Bretzke turned it over to city attorneys.

A young Penobscot Indian, one of more than 40 who attended the meeting, said the eviction, effective June 1, was a symbolic act.

"We want to make the people of the town recognize that this is reservation land," said the man, who identified himself as Gray Eagle.

The Penobscots leased the land to the whites for 99 years, but the lease expired more than 20 years ago, he said.

The Indians demand pollution control on the Penobscot River and an end to taxes on reservation land.

Most of the Penobscots in Old Town live on Indian Island, a reservation in the middle of the river.

AUGUSTA, Maine (AP) — A Penobscot Indian says the tribe will issue a "declaration of independence" if the state fails to deliver the annual payment on a treaty signed 150 years ago.

Five hundred bushels of corn; 15 barrels of wheat; seven barrels of clear pork; one hoghead of molasses; 100 yards of double-breadth broadcloth, fifty good blankets; 100 pounds of gunpowder; 400 pounds of shot; six boxes of chocolate; 150 pounds of tobacco and \$50 in silver.

EDITORIAL

We of the St. Regis Reserve (Reservation) are Mohawks. That is the language we speak; that is the nation our grandfathers came from.

Here at Akwesasne, we are one people. There is no border to divide us, brother from brother, daughter from father.

Over the years, we have been held down by disease, war, and those who took advantage of us. Our councils have been taken over by New York State and the Government of Canada.

We have tried other ways, and have become a sick people. We watch our culture and our spirits being taken away. Once we were a real people -- we cannot say that today.

The time has come for decision, for each of us.

The time has come for action, for each of us.

Some people are working hard to rebuild a strong Mohawk Nation, made up of healthy, happy, intelligent, strong Mohawk people. They have been working for those Mohawks who are in future generations, not for the Band Council, not for New York State, not for any particular system, but for those faces still coming toward us.

To these hard working people, we say, do not become discouraged. We know your load is heavy. We know you become impatient because your brothers do not know their past and do not think of their future. But you are needed to guard our lands and our heritage.

To those who have been silent, who have not gotten involved, who have let others do the work, now is the time for you to step forward. Those who have been working for you may fall under their heavy load.

You can -- and should -- help in many ways.

First, know the facts. Read. Study your history (see page 5). With an open mind, talk to people from all factions. Attend meetings.

Second, make sure Stanley Island -- and any other lands that are reclaimed for the people of Akwesasne as part of the Mohawk Nation -- comes back to us. Take the family over to camp out for a weekend. Send over a sack of food and camping supplies. Plant a few extra rows in your garden to contribute later this summer.

Third, participate in the planning for the future of Stanley Island. One proposal which has been forwarded is a Mohawk Center -- where our youth could spend time each summer in healthy surroundings, learning to speak their language, learning crafts from their grandmothers, as well as their history, songs. Families could camp there in beauty and quiet. During the winter it could be used for conferences and for recreation. Is something like this not better than the few extra dollars that would be sent to Ottawa "to benefit the Indians" from leasing the island?

Fourth, do whatever you think you can and should do. But do something. Call up those who seem to be active and ask what you can do to help. Call a meeting of your family and ask those who seem to have knowledge to come over and explain things to you.

Fifth, participate in the only government that unites our people as one, who thinks of our future. Join in the only government that is not controlled by white people, one that is thousands of years old and yet very modern. Some people call it "Longhouse", but it is more correctly called a Mohawk council.

It is true that in the past, after being persecuted and bothered that some of the people of this government became angered, even prejudiced. Arguments over religion took place. But today we cannot afford petty differences. We must again become one strong people.

Attend meetings at the longhouse. The door is open for you. Your voice can be heard. Your religious beliefs are your own business -- but everyone's support is needed to counsel together about our future.

We speak now to another group -- those among us who want to become assimilated, who want to become white. We wish you well in your choice. But do not do that here at Akwesasne. Move to Ottawa, or Syracuse, or someplace where you can really be a part of the white society.

Leave Akwesasne as Indian land for those of us who are proud to be Mohawks.

-- Tom Porter

The Great Tree and the Longhouse:

5

THE CULTURE OF THE IROQUOIS

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The Iroquois Confederacy, also known as the League, originally consisted of five Iroquois nations similar to each other in culture and language. These five were the Mohawk, the Seneca, the Cayuga, the Oneida, and the Onondaga. A sixth Iroquois nation, the Tuscarora, was permitted to join later, about 1710, when its members were driven out of North Carolina and made their way north. Today the Confederacy is usually referred to as "the Six Nations."

The Confederacy Council consisted of fifty chiefs whose names or titles (including Hiawatha and Atotarho) have come down to us. One title, that of Deganawidah, is always left vacant, making the number of chiefs forty-nine in practice. There were nine each from the Mohawk and Oneida nations, fourteen from the Onondaga, ten from the Cayuga, and eight from the Seneca. We are not sure why the distribution was unequal. The best guess is that each chief originally was the head chief of his village, and the number of villages in a tribe varied. We should not jump to the conclusion that a larger number from a tribe meant it had more power. It did not. Each nation voted as a unit, so it did not matter how many representatives there were in a tribal delegation.

But some of the founding nations were more powerful than others. This was recognized by giving them special rights and responsibilities. The Mohawks, the powerful easternmost nation whose territory bordered on that of the hostile Algonquins, were made the Keepers of the Eastern Door of the great symbolic Longhouse. In recognition of their leading role in forming the Confederacy, the Mohawks were also given special rights. No League meeting was considered legal unless all the Mohawk Confederacy Chiefs were present. Nor could the Council pass a measure if the Mohawks protested.

The westernmost nation and the most populous, the Senecas, were the Keepers of the Western Door. Bordering their territory also were unfriendly tribes. The two War Chiefs of the League were chosen from among the delegates of the warlike Senecas.

The Onondagas, whose lands lay in the middle of Iroquoia, were appointed Keepers of the Central Fire. They held the wampum belonging to the League. They called the meetings and set up the agenda. If they disagreed with a Council decision, they could veto it, but their veto could be overridden, as we shall see. The Onondaga chief, Atotarho, was moderator of the Council, but his power was not really greater than that of the other chiefs. He was a presiding officer rather than a chief with authority over others. In one respect he was given power. No decisions, except very unimportant ones, could be made in his absence. Such an arrangement was characteristic of much of Iroquois political organization: the power to stop something rather than the power to get something done.

Thus the big three—the Mohawks, the Onondagas, and the Senecas—were given special rights and duties. Their titles as Keepers were part of the conception of the League as a Longhouse.

Each village in Iroquoia had its own village council, which looked after village affairs. Members of the council were men—clan representatives chosen by the Clan Matron of each clan in consultation with the other women of the clan. Each village had a head chief, who presided over the village council. Thus village government consisted of men who represented clans and who were chosen by women.

In turn, the Confederacy Council consisted of the tribal chiefs. We are not sure whether or not this council included all the tribal chiefs, but probably it did in the beginning. In any case, this council of Confederacy Chiefs had jurisdiction over all the member nations in certain matters.

All the Confederacy Chiefs were men, but they were chosen and could be removed by women. The office of Confederacy Chief was hereditary within clans from certain localities. Within each such clan, the Chief Matron, in consultation with other clan women, named a chief from among the clan members. Once elected, a Confederacy Chief held office for life, unless he was removed for a serious offense or became too ill to hold office.

The power to name and remove Confederacy Chiefs gave women an important role in Iroquois political life. The power to make decisions as chiefs gave men an important role. Thus the organization of the League took account of men, women, clan, village, and tribe.

In addition to the regular members of the Council, a special class of Pine Tree Chiefs was later set up. Men of outstanding ability could be elected by the Council, in whose proceedings they were given a voice but no vote. Once elected, a Pine Tree Chief could not be removed, but if he behaved contrary to the laws of the Great Peace, his voice would not be listened to. He had no power to name a successor. By this device it was possible to include in the Council respected men who were not members of clans entitled to name chiefs or who came from clans already represented.



In general, the Confederacy Council confined itself to preserving the internal freedom of each nation, to maintaining peace among the member nations, to ensuring them free access to each other's hunting grounds, and to guaranteeing religious freedom.

Strong central government was quite unknown to Iroquois society. Their whole system tended to spread power and responsibility rather than to concentrate it. At the Confederacy Council, a chief was an equal among equals. The Iroquois never concentrated power in one man and gave very little even to a group of men. The word "chief" in our language suggests a figure in command in a way that does not correspond to Iroquois reality. In fact, in historic times the white man often thought that the chief he was dealing with had more power to commit his people than he actually had. The white man was often disappointed in his expectations.

The Confederacy Constitution provided for consultation with the people. On matters of grave importance, the Council members were directed to meet with the people and abide by their decision. The male or female members of any clan could also meet and bring a matter to the attention of the Council. People had the right to form committees and appoint delegates to bring important matters to the Council for consideration. Such provisions made it possible for the people to bring their views to bear directly on the Council. Because the Iroquois were not very numerous, such devices could work very well.

These rules for the organization and functioning of the League were believed by the Iroquois to have been given to them at the time of the formation of the Confederacy by Deganawidah. At the same time, so they believed, Deganawidah gave them a series of powerful symbols pertaining to the Confederacy. These symbols were drawn from everyday life and their constant use made the ideas behind the Confederacy part of the daily lives of the people.

The two great symbols standing for the Confederacy itself were drawn from the forest and the clearing, the domain of men and the domain of women.

From the clearing came the symbol of the Confederacy as a Longhouse stretching from east to west over the land of Iroquoia. Within the Longhouse burned the five fires of the five nations of the League. The rafters of the Longhouse were the Law. A new nation entering the Confederacy would add a beam or a leaning pole to the structure. The doors at either end were guarded by the Keepers. Thus the Iroquois combined home, fireside, and family into a symbol to stand for their League.

From the forest came the symbol of the Confederacy as the Great Tree of Peace. The Tree itself represented the Law. The branches meant shelter and protection which the people got from the League. The white roots of the Great Tree were thought to stretch to the four corners of the earth. Other peoples would see them and follow them to the protection of the Great Tree.

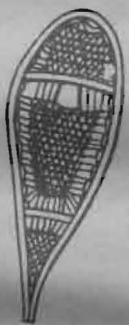
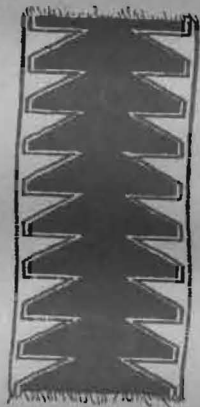
Watching over the Tree was the Eagle That Sees Afar. He was to sound the alarm if any danger approached the people living under the Great Tree.

Under the ground beneath the Tree was a cavern with a stream of water running through it. Into this cavern were cast the weapons with which men fight, to be borne away by the stream. Spread on the ground beneath the branches of the Tree was the White Mat of the Law on which the Council members were to sit when they deliberated.

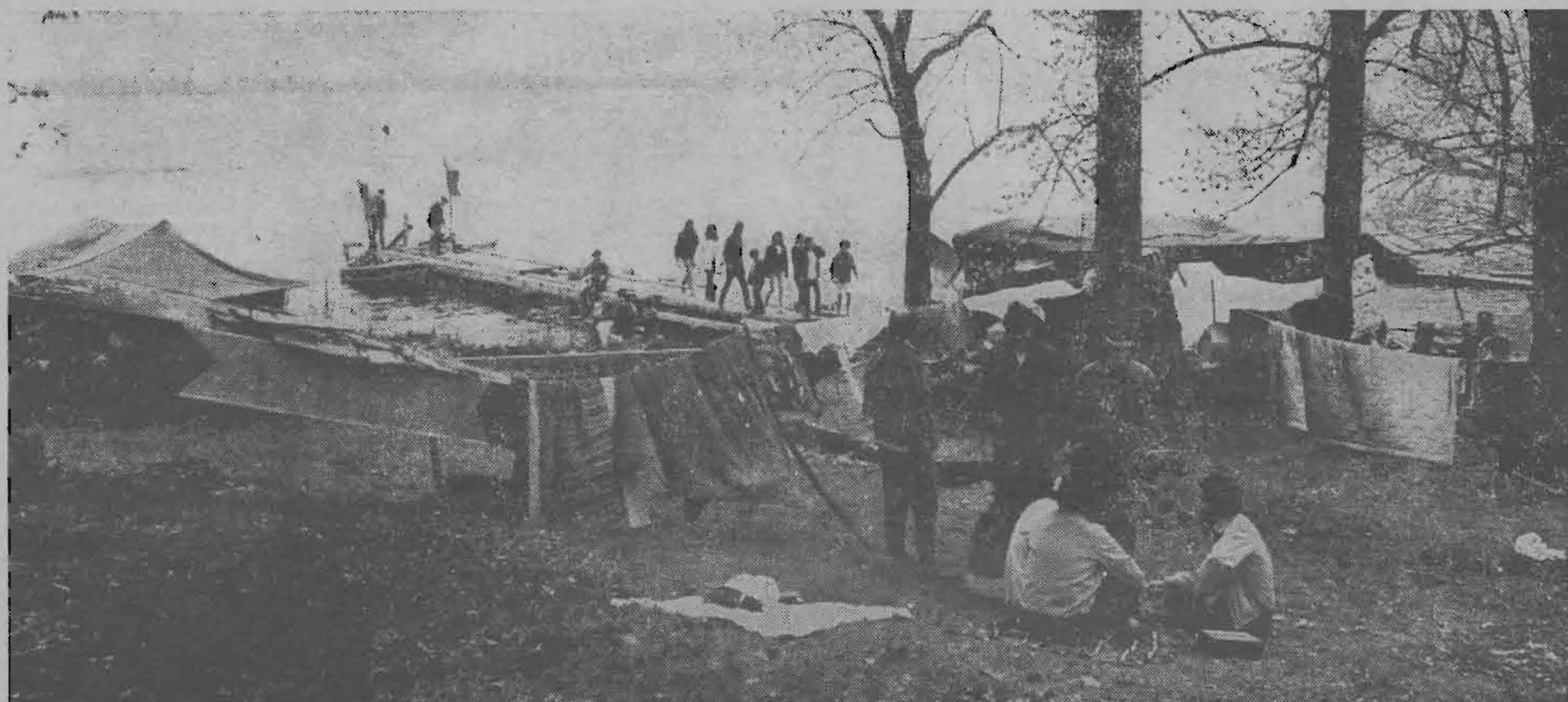
The unity of the Five Nations was symbolized in several ways. The Five Nations were spoken of as a bundle of arrows, one representing each nation. When the arrows were bound together with deer sinews, it was impossible to break them apart. Unity was also thought of as a circle of the chiefs with hands so joined that even if a tree fell upon it, the circle could not be broken. It was also thought of as a bundle of five strings of wampum held together as one.

The rights of the people to free discussion, and of each of the five nations to handle its own internal affairs, were symbolized by the council fires, which, the Constitution says, were to be kept burning all over Iroquoia. In everyday life the Iroquois used the symbol of the council fire to stand both for discussion and for the tribe.

The constant use of such symbols helped the people to understand the meaning of their Confederacy.



All is quiet on occupied Stanley Island



—Globe and Mail, Rudy Platel

Reclaiming of Stanley Island by Mohawk Indians has similarities to seizing of Alcatraz by U.S. Indians. It is more of an emotional statement than a planned plot.

By RUDY PLATEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

CORNWALL — Nine-year-old Allan David, sporting a Mohawk haircut, ran around on the grass of Stanley Island trying to join in a kick-the-ball game with older boys.

Richard Laughing tried his hand at chopping firewood and later he had to hold up a tent that kept blowing down in the strong winds whipping in from the St. Lawrence River.

Marie Peters spent several hours scaling and cleaning a catch of pickerel—then cooking them over a wood fire the smoke from which always seemed to be blowing into someone's eyes.

It's still generally peaceful on Stanley Island, one week after about 50 Mohawks from the St. Regis Indian Reserve landed and announced to cottagers that they were reclaiming the reserve island from those who were leasing it.

The reclamation on behalf "of the Mohawk nation" is more of an emotional statement of defiance to the world than a well-calculated plot.

It has similarities to the seizing of Alcatraz and the unsuccessful attempt to take Ellis Island near New York City. Tom Cook, a Mohawk college student who was involved in the Ellis Island foray, was one of a number of Indians who attended a picnic on Stanley Island on Saturday.

But the reclaiming of the island is also another episode in the continuing struggle between supporters of the Mohawk Longhouse of hereditary chiefs and the elected council of the St. Regis Band administration, which is recognized and supported by the federal Government.

All three agree on one thing: the terms of the Stanley Island lease—and those for several other islands—were a bad deal for the Indians.

Mayor Jean Paul Touchette of Alexandria owns a lease for the island which he got from a New Jersey doctor. It was taken out in 1899 and brings the Indians \$6 a year. Thirteen other cottagers are on the island under a sub-lease to Mr. Touchette of between \$120 and \$200 a year.

The band council last fall initiated legal action to break the 99-year lease and in March the cottagers were ordered by the Indian Affairs Branch to leave the island. But negotiations began and the deadline was postponed.

Chief Angus Mitchell of the band council said the band administration has been working on the situation with a lawyer for two years. He accused the Indians who are occupying the island of trying to jump in ahead of a

settlement and seize it for the longhouse.

Indians on the island accuse the band administration of being "puppets" of the Indian Affairs Branch. They say that the council has the power to do only what Indian Affairs wants it to do.

Indian Affairs officials point to the situation as good argument to back up their proposed new Indian policy. They say that the Indians should be in full control of their own land and that the Government shouldn't be acting as a trustee.

"It's paternalism to second-guess people and we've been in the position where we've legally had to second-guess for donkey's years," an Indian Affairs spokesman said.

"Here's a deal that is a bad deal. It's dawned on the Indians that it's a bad deal but what the heck are you supposed to do? You make good contracts—you make bad contracts.

"We recognize the Indians' point that obviously the guy's got this land and he's renting it for several hundred dollars a year and doing nothing. He

is in fact making the profit the Indians should get. This is why the new policy says that the Government ought not to be in this position."

But the Indians on both sides of the band administration-longhouse split say that while they want control over their land and affairs, they oppose the new policy because they believe it will destroy some of their rights.

Mike Mitchell, a young militant Mohawk, said the problem is that the new policy would make Indians ordinary Canadian citizens and as such they would lose their freedom to cross the Canadian-U.S. border, granted under the Jay Treaty of 1794.

About 90 per cent of the Indians work in the United States and this would mean they would have to obtain visas and work permits.

"It would be one more right of ours that is lost. That is why the Indians are at Stanley Island. They are saying 'We've lost too many rights already—we've lost enough—that's it,' Mr. Mitchell said.

John Boots, a 29-year-old father of

four and spokesman for the Indians on Stanley Island, said that there has been a systematic takeover of Indian lands going back to 1763, when a British official in charge of Indian affairs sold land to settlers.

Mr. Boots said there is no evidence

that these lands were ever transferred to the Crown from the Mohawks. But real seeds of distrust are more recent.

Shortly after the First World War the Indians believed certain 99-year-leases on islands were expiring but the white cottagers produced leases that read 999 years. Indians pressured the Government into court action and the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in their favor.

However, the Government enacted the St. Regis Islands Act, which gave it the power to sign new leases with the same cottagers. The police were ordered to bar the Indians from the islands.

Indians say that because of this history, they simply don't trust the Government in renegotiations over Stanley Island.

It was against this background and a growing sense of militancy that they marched onto Stanley Island, an idyllic 40-acre patch of green in the middle of the Seaway. It is one of 42 islands that belong to the Mohawks.

On a still night, they sit around a camp fire chanting and singing—interrupted only by the throbbing engines of ocean-going ships gliding past.

When it rains, they huddle in blankets inside tents. The Indians have maintained a force of between 15 and 20 on the island during the week, with more people arriving as others leave for work.

Cold and windy weather, plus two funerals at St. Regis, put a damper on the turnout at a picnic held Saturday on the island.

The Indians have said there will be no violence on their part and are planning to meet with cottagers.

Thomas Porter, secretary of the Six Nations Confederacy, said that the Indians plan to stay, plant corn, camp and build a cottage.

Most cottagers did not appear to be on the island during the weekend and the only strained moment came when one cottager was accused of drinking.

The cottager replied in a slurred voice that he was "damn well" going to drink if he felt like it. After an exchange of insults, along with professions of peace—the Indians walked away.

"Some white men seem to have a drinking problem," said one Indian, a follower of the longhouse code, which calls for abstinence.



Mike Mitchell, in headdress, beats out a rhythm while teaching Indian folk songs to 9-year-old Allan David, who is sporting the Mohawk style of haircut.

NOW
THIS IS AN INDIAN RESERVE



Louis Peters watches his mother, Marie, and Kanento Boots, 16, scale and clean a catch of pickerel.



CHIEF TALKS—Alex Gray, left in headdress, head chief of the Mohawks at the St. Regis Indian Reservation counselled his followers on behavior and their rights after their invasion and take-over of Stanley Island in the

St. Lawrence River on grounds the island belongs to the Mohawks and is being illegally occupied and leased by cottage owners. The Mohawks have occupied the island since Saturday.

Great Marshmallow Bureaucracy

By BRIAN McKENNA

The Star's Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA — Yukon Erik went after a little help from his friends yesterday.

He got it.

Like thousands of Canadians, Yukon parliamentarian Eric Nielsen had collided with that giant marshmallow — civil service bureaucracy.

For the last 18 years, Nielsen has been renting a strip of land up in the Territories from the government. Until recently, he mailed his rent in every year and was rewarded with a lease renewal.

A week ago he got a letter rejecting his automatic bid to rent the land for another year.

Somewhere deep in the department of Indian affairs and northern development a civil servant had decided that

it was impossible to renew the lease because Nielsen was an MP.

Like thousands of Canadians, Nielsen had a clause quoted to him. This particular clause stipulated that no MP may share in any largesse as a result of any agreement or contract signed with the government.

Everyone agreed that the obvious intent of the clause was to make it illegal for an MP to get a kickback. Everyone, that is, but the bureaucrat.

Unlike thousands of Canadians, Nielsen was in an excellent position to do something about his problem.

He stormed to his feet in the House of Commons yesterday accusing the government of "harassing him," saying that MPs must be able to act "without fear of reprisals and vengeful acts from those in power."

To carry it to the ludicrous, he

said, does it mean that an MP cannot put a dime in a Government of Canada pay toilet, something you can find at any airport across Canada.

Anyone, whether he has been unemployed and had to deal with a manpower bureaucrat, or simply had a run-in with a post office teller or immigration official, would applaud Nielsen's next line:

"Surely it is wrong and an abuse of power for an employee of the department to act as a prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner at one and the same time."

The House of Commons voted unanimously to refer his beef to the parliamentary committee on privileges, where it is likely the members will see things his way.

And that is one of the privileges of being a commoner — in the House of Commons.

Island Dispute Island Lessor Denies Making Huge Profit

Mayor Jean - Paul Touchette, of Alexandria, answered his critics today by denying he makes any money leasing cottages on government - owned Stanley Island.

"In fact, I'm losing money," said Mr. Touchette, who holds a 100-year lease on the island for \$6 a year.

On the CTV News Program last night at 7:15 p.m. a reporter speculated that Mr. Touchette was raking in more than \$1,000 profit in rents from the 13 cottagers to whom he sub-lets plots of land for \$50 and \$75 a year.

"I'm being misquoted," said Mr. Touchette, who claims rents are being absorbed by operating costs totalling \$2,000. "It costs me that much to cut the 30 acres of grass," he said.

However, Mr. Touchette admitted that the lease, for which he paid \$53,000 last year, is unfair to the Indians who originally owned the land before it was

handed over to the federal government around the year 1900.

On Thursday, Mr. Touchette's lawyer, Paul Rouleau, will make his second trip to Ottawa to continue working out a fair agreement with the government, the mayor said.

Commenting on the Indians currently occupying the island, Mr. Touchette said he wouldn't lay any complaint as long as they did no damage.

Mr. Touchette made it clear, however, that he is out to protect his investment. He said he received written consent from the Indian Affairs department to buy the lease, and if the lease proves invalid, he'll sue the department for the return of all his money.

The St. Regis Band Council is currently trying to take over the lease by legal means. The law firm acting for the Indians is Gowing, MacTavish, Osborne and Henderson in Ottawa.

Stanley Island cottagers say they aren't really bothered by Indians encamped at their doorstep. Some cottagers, in fact, are even sympathetic with the Indians' cause, now they are assured the visitors mean no harm.

Doug Hill was one of the first cottagers to meet with the Mohawk band, which has been camped on the dock since Saturday.

The Indians are reclaiming the island, which rents for \$6 a year, and contains 13 sub-let cottages.

Mr. Hill had no choice about meeting them, really. His sailboat was docked in the midst of their camp and he planned to do some work on it, he said.

Asked how the Indians responded to him, Mr. Hill replied: "They were very pleasant."

"One approached and asked for a meeting between the cottagers and his chiefs. He assured me no damage would be done and said the Indians had no ill intentions toward the cottagers."

The Indians, who were denounced by the elected St. Regis Band Council Monday, are demanding that the island be vacated and returned to the Mohawk Nation. The council, meanwhile, is trying to take over the lease by legal means.

YOUNG, HELPFUL

Mr. Hill said the Indians were genuine a bit and there was lots of happy chatter. Only a few seemed suspicious of him. Most of them were young, he added.

He even helped Mr. Hill move his sailboat out of the camp area.

Mr. Hill said he was sorry to see the cottages become an issue. "You look forward to a summer cottage as being a place where you can get away from it all," he said.

Stanley Is. has 13 cottages, eight owned by Cornwall residents. The cottages are rented for \$50 to \$75 a year, depending on whether the cottage was existing before the lease was signed or built afterwards.

ADVERTISED AS HAVEN

Most of the cottages are worth between \$4,500 and \$8,000, said Mr. Hill. Only two new ones have been built in the past 10 years, he added.

Last year was the first time the island was advertised as a haven for cottagers.

All cottagers have signed sub-leases which don't expire until the end of the century. Last year the main lease changed hands when Charlie Shields, now retired, sold it to Jean-Paul Touchette, mayor of Alexandria.

"We can't do anything until it is decided who rightfully owns the main lease," said Keith LeGault, a cottager.

Mr. LeGault said the cottagers will not lay a complaint to have the Indians removed from the island. "We have no right to, nor do we object to the Indians being there now they have assured us they won't harm anything."

Mayor Touchette, visiting his marina business opposite Stanley Island yesterday afternoon, told The Standard-Freeholder he expects word of settlement from his lawyer this week.

"It will be an outright purchase either on the Indians side or mine," he said. "I don't mind which way it goes." He was referring to outright purchase of the island by himself, or, purchase of the lease by Mohawks.

Mayor Touchette said he hadn't visited the island since the Indians assembled there last weekend "and I have no objection to them being there so long as they pay for any damage they may cause."

Chief Joseph Mitchell of the Long House, Hogansburg, N.Y., wouldn't comment on Mayor Touchette's statement except to say "the matter will have to be studied by all Mohawks. It's not my decision."

Although rain spoiled a mammoth picnic the Mohawks had planned for Saturday, it didn't dampen their dry sense of humor as they complained, tongue-in-cheek, that two white men had visited the island while drunk and that white people were polluting the hickory nuts.

Discussed during a short meeting Saturday night were the next move Long House Indians would make on the island and what action could be taken to prevent further loss of land.

A group of youthful Indians cracking hickory nuts chided reporters for the way white men had polluted waterways and the air. "And now they've even polluted the nuts," said one youth, spitting out a bad one.

War Chief Reginald Nelson of Oka, Que., said two drunken men visited the island over the weekend and he had "to reprimand them."

NO DRINKING

"I won't tolerate drinking on the island," said the war chief. However, when asked what he proposed to do about it he threw his arms up in the air and grinned.

Mike Mitchell of Cornwall Island explained Indians were afraid they would be blamed for damage done to cottages by white men.

The 30 Indians living in tents on the south side of the island are busy during the day clearing patches of poison ivy to make way for strawberry patches. They also plan to erect some type of permanent shelter on the island in the near future, they say.

No cottagers were seen on the island on Monday. However, nearby mariners reported a brisk trade in taking people onto and around Stanley Island.

Meanwhile, 30 Mohawks of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy are still living on the south side of the island, saying they are reclaiming the land for their people.

A group of Mohawks descended on the island on the weekend of May 9 in the initial effort to reclaim it.

LACROSSE - the fastest game on two feet

AT AKWESASNE



A ball game played by a southern tribe, depicted by George Catlin in the 1830s. The hundreds of players, who tossed the ball between goals about 250 yards apart, wore nothing but breech-cloth, belt, and a "tail" made of horsehair or quills.

When some of the first white travellers arrived in North America back in 1535 and started to explore along the St Lawrence River and its tributaries they discovered the Indians playing lacrosse. The French explorers thought the netted stick used by the native players looked like a bishop's crozier or "la crosse"; hence the origin of the name.

In the olden days the Indians played a much rougher game with rival tribes gathering sometimes 1,000 strong to play on a mile-long field on the open prairie. On occasion the goals would be in separate Iroquois villages. A "game" would last for several days and usually ended in a pitched battle with high casualties. Medicine men officiated as umpires and the women cheered their men on by flailing them with switches. The Iroquois were originators of the game as we know it. They used puckered balls of moosehide stuffed with anything from leather to the knuckle bone of a deer.

Naturally, the white man wanted to join the fun and the Indians accordingly stepped up the manufacture of lacrosse sticks. Their efforts never quite met the demand until a combined lumber dealer and lacrosse referee, E. J. Lally of Cornwall conceived the idea of producing sticks on a large scale. Somehow he managed, about the turn of the century, to corral the local Indians into a factory and soon he was shipping lacrosse sticks all over the United States.

The game found favor among American colleges and universities and Princeton, Harvard, and Yale began playing intercollegiate games as far back as 1881. The Canadian Lacrosse Association was organized in 1925 and the next year the U.S. Intercollegiate Lacrosse Association was formed.

In the States, England, and Australia the game is field lacrosse, played outdoors on a field measuring 110 yards long and 70 yards wide. Field lacrosse teams have ten players—three men playing attack, three midfield, three defence and a goalie. In Canada box lacrosse is played in an indoor arena with smaller sticks, six man teams and with rules similar to hockey. The Canadian game is considered to be faster but both varieties have been termed "the fastest game on two feet". The regulation india-rubber ball has been clocked in mid-air at 105 miles an hour, about 15 miles an hour faster than the best pitcher can toss a baseball!

There is slight likelihood that automation will ever threaten the workers' jobs. It might seem that an automatic bending machine, for example, would bend every stick the same amount. Not so. Due to variations in the wood fibers, some sticks cannot take as much bend as others and therefore split. The Indians seem to anticipate the danger point and know when to stop bending. In three days at the factory, we only saw one stick broken during the bending process and we were told that no more than three sticks a day have to be discarded throughout the entire plant.

After their second seasoning, the bent splits go to the carving room where the real experts whittle the rough hickory into recognizable lacrosse sticks. The workers use razor sharp, two-handled draw knives and work at hand-made cobbler type benches which have special vices to hold the sticks.

Next, the business end of the stick is nonchalantly drilled with 21 holes by two youthful drillers who combine the old eyeball system with the latest electric drills. The sticks are then carefully sanded and finally the bent end is dipped in lacquer.

After the sticks are dry, they are bundled up in lots of a dozen (everything is counted by dozens at the factory) and sent out to some thirty homes on the reserve where the ladies take over the lacing operation. Leather, gut (produced from raw hides in another Cornwall Island building) and nylon are used for the lacing and the average worker can string a dozen sticks a day. Most of the women prefer to do their lacing in the evening as they watch television for some indication of just how long and far this game of lacrosse has come since it was a training for battle.

ONE OF North America's ancient industries and Canada's legal national sport seemed doomed to come to a fiery ending on 4 June 1968. While it is generally believed that Canada and ice hockey are synonymous, the first Canadian parliament back in 1867 saw fit to proclaim lacrosse as the national game.

Of all the lacrosse sticks used in the world, 97 per cent are produced in one factory, on an island in the St Lawrence River, 60 miles upstream from Montreal, by a band of Mohawk Indians. The original factory, which had grown haphazardly from a tarpaper shack in 1930, burnt to the ground last year. News of the \$100,000 fire resounded around the lacrosse playing world even faster than an expertly passed lacrosse ball. The Ontario Lacrosse Association alone estimated their players would be short some 4,000 sticks if production could not continue, and with 84,000 sticks on order for the year, it seemed lacrosse players in England, Australia, the United States, and Canada would have to turn to some other sport.

The panic was short lived. The factory's eighty-two Indian employees, whose fathers, grandfathers, and long forgotten warrior ancestors had carved lacrosse sticks before them, simply went back to working outdoors, which is where they'd rather be in summertime anyhow. Fortunately some 8,000 hickory splits and a quantity of partially completed sticks were salvaged so that work could continue. It takes a full year to make a lacrosse stick. The Mohawks revealed a subtle sense of humour when they erected a sign at their new outdoor work site: "No Smoking—Lacrosse Factory" it read. Makeshift arrangements spread to garages, sheds and appropriately enough, the reservation's fire station. In a month lacrosse stick production had reached one quarter of its pre-fire level and was up to one half by August.

Meanwhile the wheels of the Canadian and Ontario governments were grinding exceedingly fast to provide loans for rebuilding. A modern cinder block factory, located on the site of the old conglomeration, was officially opened on October 25th last year by Indian member of parliament, Leonard S. Marchand of Kamloops, British Columbia. Two thirds of the money for the \$60,000 factory building came from the revolving loan fund of the Department of Indian Affairs. The remainder is a loan from the Province of Ontario, repayment of which is forgiven if operations continue successfully for six years.

With factory operations largely in the hands of the race that invented the game, it seems a safe bet that the Chisholm Lacrosse Factory will continue to thrive. The factory takes its name from Colin Chisholm, a Scottish school teacher who came to teach on Cornwall Island, part of the St Regis Indian Reserve in 1928 and who, although he has never played a single game of lacrosse, was approached by the Indians to help them develop a stick factory in 1930. Until then the Cornwall Island Indians had made sticks in their own homes. With the late Frank Roundpoint, a councillor in the band, as co-owner, Chisholm started the factory in 1930 with a handful of Indian employees. In 1945 the thriving company bought Canada's only other lacrosse stick plant, the Lally Lacrosse Manufacturing Company of Cornwall, Ontario, which was situated just over the Seaway International Bridge on the Ontario mainland. In 1967 the Chisholm

company took over its only remaining competitor, the Lantry Lacrosse Company of nearby Hogansburg, New York. Frank Roundpoint's sons, Gilbert, Ronnie and Wallace, are now co-owners of the operation with Mr Chisholm. The St Regis Reserve spreads across boundaries in Ontario, Quebec, and New York but since the employees all belonged to the same Indian band and used the same methods to make lacrosse sticks, there was no problem in amalgamating the three companies. Today on Cornwall Island some forty families earn their living at the lacrosse stick factory, with the skilled workers making as much as \$150 a week.

When some of the first white travellers arrived in North America back in 1535 and started to explore along the St Lawrence River and its tributaries they discovered the Indians playing lacrosse. The French explorers thought the netted stick used by the native players looked like a bishop's crozier or "la crosse"; hence the origin of the name.

In the olden days the Indians played a much rougher game with rival tribes gathering sometimes 1,000 strong to play on a mile-long field on the open prairie. On occasion the goals would be in separate Iroquois villages. A "game" would last for several days and usually ended in a pitched battle with high casualties. Medicine men officiated as umpires and the women cheered their men on by flailing them with switches. The Iroquois were originators of the game as we know it. They used puckered balls of moosehide stuffed with anything from leather to the knuckle bone of a deer.

Naturally, the white man wanted to join the fun and the Indians accordingly stepped up the manufacture of lacrosse sticks. Their efforts never quite met the demand until a combined lumber dealer and lacrosse referee, E. J. Lally of Cornwall conceived the idea of producing sticks on a large scale. Somehow he managed, about the turn of the century, to corral the local Indians into a factory and soon he was shipping lacrosse sticks all over the United States.

Because of the two different games, the fact that women use lighter sticks, and a team may require up to



Lacing the sticks is done by the women in their homes.



PEOPLE

Wayne Newell

By Jim Hughes

Boston

Maine Indians are tired of headlines that begin, "Indians pow-wow . . . Indians collect scalps from state . . . Indians on the warpath," etc.

Wayne Newell of the Passamaquoddy tribe says, "If white editors are that bankrupt, they should hire Indians to write some new lines. We don't find that treatment lighthearted or funny."

Mr. Newell is one of the young Passamaquoddys who is really "into the Indian thing."

He endured what was to him a grotesque white man's education—he nearly dropped out. After 14 bruising years in the white man's schools he worked for several years in TV. Then "I saw things were changing and it was time to do things I had always wanted to do."

Maine Indians were waking up out of their apathy; Wayne Newell wanted to help. For one thing, he wanted to help organize tribal government to make decisions without clearing them with whites. He wanted Indian education to meet Indian needs. "All through school there is a clash between the inside and the outside."

The clash comes from the bumping together of the white and red cultures. Indians are flooded out by white things. They feel like they are always defending the last ridge in Indian country. Whites are so big and Indians so small that the white bureaucracy views Indians as just a group of peculiar white people. They are not. They are different from white men.

Take, for example, the white and red attitudes toward nature. "The white man tries to overcome nature. We are taught to live with nature."

Wayne Newell wanted to change the Indian image in America, the movie stereotype. This image pervades the United States. "I give talks in high schools. Kids ask me, seriously, if we still take scalps."

He is appalled that so much Indian culture has slipped away. He points to a Maine tribe that has even forgotten its language.

Mr. Newell's tape recorder is saving the culture of the Passamaquoddys. He has been taping the songs, dances, legends, and music of his tribe for the past four years. He ranges the Passamaquoddy country, from Peter Dana Point, with its view over Big Lake toward Pocamoonshine Mountain, to the fogs of Pleasant Point, the Indian town that looks over St. Andrews Bay toward Canada. He searches out Indians who can dredge up the ancient tribal memories. The older men remember best.

"It takes a lot to get them singing into the mike, but once they get started it goes all right," he said.

George Soctomah, an Indian in his eighth decade, put on tape a vivid recollection of the old Indian canoe routes on the St. Croix River.

The tapes are reconstituting the old Passamaquoddy vocabulary, which is to today's Indian speech what Elizabethan speech is to present-day English.

Many of the tapes are on the religious beliefs of Indians. Mr. Newell makes solemn promises never to play these tapes to white men. Most of the tribe is Roman Catholic, but Indian religion was there first and it goes deeper.

Wayne Newell tried to explain: "In the white school they told me to forget my language, it wouldn't help me in life. From their point of view they were right, but I resented it."

"Route No. 1 crosses our land. We tried to take tolls on it to help out Indians. We were jailed. The land for the road was taken by eminent domain, we were never paid for it. The state took land to straighten the road that goes to Pleasant Point [an Indian town]."

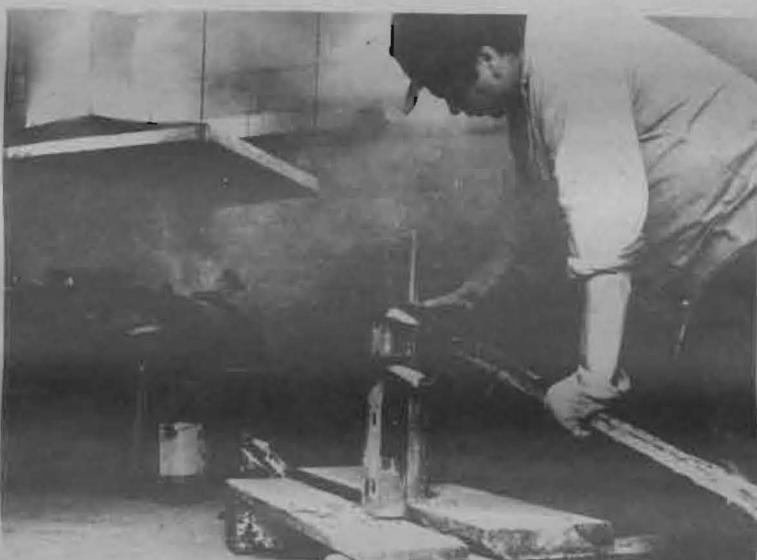
"The white man made treaties that promised to take care of us in exchange for the lands they took. They turned the treaties into sordid welfare programs. When I appeared in the Maine legislature to speak of these things, one representative called me a communist, while another said I was a John Birch."



Above: splitting the hickory logs.



Left: steam bending the splits.



Top: roughly shaped sticks go to the seasoning sheds.



carving the seasoned, bent splits with a draw-knife.



drilling the holes in the crook, accurately done by eye measurement.

indian policy

10

Below is a little drama in five acts. To summarize: act one: a rare Indian, one in favour of the new Indian policy, speaks out. Act two: so rare is he that the Government decides to encourage him for \$200 a day. Act three: he produces. Act 4,5 : headed for a happy ending.

This man is in trouble...

Leaders just talking, not working, says Wuttunee

CALGARY (CP) — Alberta native leaders are exploiting their people by using government grants for "negative criticism" instead of improving the situation, lawyer William Wuttunee said Saturday.

"All yap and no work—this applies to a good portion of these people who are getting grants to work for Indian associations and Metis associations."

"These leaders are exploiting Indian people worse than anyone ever has," said Mr. Wuttunee, a Cree Indian and past-president of the National Council.

The three major native organizations in Alberta received more than \$350,000 in grants last year and should be using the money to improve conditions on reserves, he said.

"They may work all day by going out and talking — but they don't do anything else. They do nothing productive or destructive. Negative talk, that's all."

The Indian Association of Alberta should place less emphasis on its claims to treaty rights, he said.

"You cannot cast this kind of obligation on the rest of Canadians. What they are saying, in effect, is: 'Because you took our land, you owe us a living'."

ACT TWO: OTTAWA

House of Commons
APRIL 16, 1970

ROBERT SIMPSON
(PC, CHURCHILL):

Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Because of the rejection by Indian people in various parts of Canada of the Government's proposals for a new Indian policy, has the Government hired or entered into a contract with a consultant or consultants to advise the Government on means of gaining acceptance of this new policy by the Indian people? . . . I should like to ask the Minister whether Mr. W. I. C. Wuttunee, who has been such a strong advocate of this new policy, was hired on a \$200 per day, plus expenses, Government retainer to advise the Government on means of getting the Indians to accept the new policy?

INDIAN AFFAIRS AND
NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT
MINISTER JEAN CHRETIEN:

Mr. Speaker, I should like to reply to the question of privilege. It is true that this man has been hired by the department as a consultant. He is a lawyer of Indian background. I want to point out that we spend thousands and thousands of dollars through the Indian Association. Many of them are not in agreement, but we hope to give them money to have a real public debate . . .

Indians form group to fight militant stand

CALGARY (CP) — A group of Indian and Metis representatives from the Prairie provinces have formed the Canadian Native Council in Regina as opposition to more militant groups.

William Wuttunee, a Calgary lawyer, said yesterday the non-militant, non-radical council supports the federal paper on Indian affairs and plans meetings throughout the Prairies to explain the Government stand.

Mr. Wuttunee, who was elected president, said present Indian associations are opposed to government administrations, but proposed alternatives that were similar, except they were operated by Indians.

Mr. Wuttunee said about 30 people attended the meeting and plans are being made for another at the end of June and discussions of expanding the council.

Tony Belcourt of Edmonton, Mervin Dieter of Regina and Noel Wuttunee of Winnipeg were elected vice-presidents of the council.

ACT FOUR:

Wuttunee termed 'traitorous'; barred from his home reserve

NORTH BATTLEFORD, Sask. (CP-Special) — Band chiefs and councillors from 10 Indian reserves in the Battlefords region of northwestern Saskatchewan have voted to bar William Wuttunee, a 42-year-old Calgary lawyer, from visiting his former home, the Red Pheasant Reserve.

Mr. Wuttunee makes about six trips a year to visit the reserve, 38 miles southeast of here.

Gerald Wuttunee, a reserve spokesman and nephew of the Calgary man, said in an interview that the strong step was taken at a meeting on Saturday because his uncle has been hired by the Department of Indian Affairs to travel the country advocating the new federal Indian policy.

"We consider this to be a traitorous act of his because we don't want the policy implemented and he knows it," Gerald Wuttunee said.

The contract says William Wuttunee is to be paid \$300 a day, money which could be well spent on Saskatchewan reserves, Gerald Wuttunee said.

The Indian band councils earlier passed resolutions barring William Wuttunee under Section 30 of the Indian Act which says anyone who comes on the reserve and who does not belong to the band which owns the reserve will be prosecuted for trespassing, Gerald

Wuttunee said.

"It is hard for me to say this, but my uncle has been bought out. He is a paid-off tool of the establishment in Ottawa," he said.

"We Indians have a great deal of loyalty and great respect for members of our families, especially the older ones, but someone turning traitor on us, that's bad," Gerald Wuttunee said.

"Indians on our reserve are wondering why one of our people has turned against us this way. We are angry and hurt. I don't think a white person could understand."

William Wuttunee now is involved in the native action council recently organized in Regina. This council was started by non-Indians and by federal officials.

"They say it will represent the grass roots but it doesn't and we think it is illegal because it doesn't really represent anyone. We won't have this policy forced on us by Uncle Toms," he said.

The chiefs are concerned about the disappearance of the reserve system which will only create slum areas in the cities, heavily populated by Indians, he said.

William Wuttunee is a former chief of the National Indian Council. He was the first full-blooded Indian to be admitted to the Alberta Law Society, about eight years ago. In 1954 he was called to the Saskatchewan Bar.

ACT FIVE:

May 7 '70 Won't push white paper

Indian lawyer switches policy

Canadian Press

CALGARY — Lawyer William Wuttunee of Calgary says that he "will no longer push the white paper" on Indian affairs.

A leading proponent of the federal government's position for four months, Mr. Wuttunee said yesterday he still feels it is a sound policy but that Indians "aren't ready" for it.

"I have taken this new stand to maintain peace and unity among the Indian people and toward white people."

A policy of confrontation generated by the white paper will only mean the development of racism and possible violence," said Mr. Wuttunee, a Cree Indian.

He said the government could not implement the unpopular document now because of lack of support, not

only from Indian people but from personnel of the department of Indian affairs "who, quite naturally, do not want to do themselves out of their jobs."

The white paper calls for the abolition of the department within five years.

Mr. Wuttunee announced his decision five days after band chiefs and councillors from 10 Indian reserves in The Battlefords region of northwestern Saskatchewan voted to bar him from his home reserve in Saskatchewan.

"I have never wished harm to Indian people. I did not thoroughly understand their fears. This is understandable because I haven't lived on a reserve for 25 years."

"The Indian people want to make their own decisions as to their own destiny and the federal and provincial governments must help them attain this end."

Mr. Wuttunee said he believes native opposition to the federal policy is so intense that attempts to promote it could arouse violence.

"This is demonstrated by the fact that my own people and my own relatives were so stirred up by my support of the white paper that they banned me from my reserve with implications of violence."

"I do not believe in confrontation or violence. I believe we can work on a parallel program."



JEAN CHRETIEN

And while we're reading tragi-comedy, note what solid respect the govt. shows for its treaties, as long as Indians are not involved. (below)

Remember the Jay Treaty dispute when we blocked the bridge at Akwesasne?

Treaty of Utrecht

Sharp says French can flout fish lines

By CLYDE SANGER
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — French fishing trawlers probably will be able to fish in certain Canadian coastal waters at times when they are closed to Canadian fishermen even after Canada adopts new regulations governing its territorial waters, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp said yesterday.

Addressing the Commons Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry, he conceded that under treaties dating from 1713 French trawlers may be able to fish right up to the Canadian shoreline when Canada draws fisheries closing lines across its adjacent waters.

Mr. Sharp was discussing the implications of Bill C-203, on which the second reading debate resumes tomorrow. The bill would allow Canada to extend its territorial sea from the present three miles to a 12-mile limit and to replace the nine-mile strip of contiguous fishing zone, being incorporated into the territorial sea, with adjacent fishing zones of a depth to be decided by the Cabinet.

Yesterday Mr. Sharp told the standing committee that, when the new fishing zones are established, Canada will "conclude negotiations for the phasing-out" of the fishing activities of seven European countries that have traditionally fished there.

He included France in that list of seven countries, but under questioning from MPs agreed that France had special treaty rights. And he demurred when Melvin McQuaid (PC, Cardigan) asked: "Can anything be done to abrogate the treaty?"

Members from Newfoundland and (like Mr. McQuaid) from Prince Edward Island have complained several times about French vessels' being able to ignore Canadian fishing regulations.

Fisheries Minister Jack Davis recalled yesterday that last year the French catch in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was "substantial" with as many as 30 large trawlers close on-shore near Newfoundland's west coast.

Mr. McQuaid said: "It seems to me very unfair to our fishermen being excluded from these waters. Does the Minister consider this a serious enough matter to take measures so that French nationals are placed under the same regulations as our own fishermen?"

Mr. Sharp said Canada could theoretically abrogate these fishing rights. But he suggested the Government had to look at the whole question of relations with France, and also at the general question of "whether we like treaties to be abrogated simply because they are inconvenient."

Rights review challenges Ottawa's Indian policy

By **BOYCE RICHARDSON**

Associate Editor of The Star

THE first comprehensive review ever written of the rights of Canada's native peoples has been published this week by the Indian-Eskimo Association — and it may well toll the deathknell of the government's proposed new Indian policy.

The review shows that there is a monstrous contradiction at the heart of the government's policy, which is to recognize treaty rights, but not to recognize aboriginal rights. Prime Minister Trudeau said in June last year that it is "inconceivable" that there should be treaties between sub-groups in our society.

But the team of lawyers who drew up the review show conclusively that the recognition of aboriginal rights underlies all the treaties. It is impossible to recognize the treaties without recognizing the rights which underlie them.

The lawyers who formed the research staff were Professors Douglas Sanders, of the University of Windsor; Kenneth Lysyk, of the University of British Columbia, and Anthony Hooper, of Laval University, and they worked under a research committee of which the chairman was Dean R. St. J. Macdonald, of the faculty of law at Toronto University.

Investigation

The tremendously detailed investigation of the legal history of Canada's dealings with the native people shows that the conception of aboriginal rights, or Indian title, as it is sometimes called in the United States, was developed by British colonialism in its contacts with primitive peoples in Africa, Australia, New Zealand and North America. The main instrument of this policy in Canada was the Royal Proclamation of October, 1763, before which time it was already British policy to placate the Indians, to secure their friendship against the French, and to confirm them in their lands.

Lord Egremont wrote from England in May, 1763 of "Protecting their Persons and Property and securing to them all the Possessions, Rights and Privileges they have hitherto enjoyed, and are entitled to, most cautiously guarding against any Invasion or Occupation of their Hunting Lands, the Possession of which is to be acquired by fair Purchase only . . ."

The Royal Proclamation six months later confirmed the Indians in possession of their lands, forbade private persons to buy Indian lands, and reserved the right of such purchase to the Crown.

This was the document from which stemmed Canadian governments' acceptance of an Indian title to the land which had to be extinguished by the Crown in negotiations with the Indians. The authors of the report admit that Canadian legal cases have not established whether this Proclamation has the force of law over all of Canada — and British Columbia has always strongly resisted any recognition of aboriginal title. But they argue that aboriginal title was already part of the Common Law of England by 1763, that the Proclamation was declaratory of that doctrine, and that since it has the force of statute "is considered as always speaking and therefore would apply to new territories as they came under the jurisdiction of Britain."

The leading Canadian case is the judgment of 1888 in the St. Catharines Milling case, which held that there was indeed an Indian title, but that "underlying it there has been all along



vested in the Crown a substantial and paramount estate . . . which became a plenum dominion whenever that title was surrendered or otherwise extinguished."

This is probably the answer to certain Indian spokesmen of today (such as Chief Fred Plain, of Sarnia) who keep on asking when it was that the Indian nations lost their sovereignty.

Independent

Only in their very first dealings were the Indians treated as independent. This was ended by the judgments of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in the U.S., who, while asserting the validity of an Indian title which had to be extinguished, described the tribes as "domestic dependent nations." The practice has been a little different in Canada, but the authors of the report conclude that "there seems no basis for an assertion of independent sovereignty in the Indian nations as against the European powers."

The St. Catharines case declared that the Indians had "personal and usufructuary rights" to territories "dependent upon the goodwill of the Sovereign." The term usufructuary comes from Roman law, and describes a right to use property belonging to someone else. In this decision, too, the authors of the report see further confirmation of the underlying Crown title to the land, with the Sovereign reserving the right to extinguish the title by prerogative or legislation, in exactly the same way as the U.S. Congress

has always reserved the right to make the final decision about the disposition of lands in Alaska, as it is now engaged in doing.

Another element of this Indian title established by the Canadian courts is its inalienable character: the title is described in the St. Catharines case as being only for the use of Indians, essentially a fee simple without right of alienation. In other words, the Indians could not sell their right except to the Crown, and this fact throws into question the validity of all land grants in areas where aboriginal title has not been extinguished. "This lays the foundation for a claim for compensation for the taking of the beneficial use (the usufructuary title). It is a claim which has not been put forward in our courts, perhaps because the legal basis for it has not been understood," comments the report.

Extremely vague

What the report has to say on treaties is equally destructive of the government's present position. It establishes that a lack of cases has left extremely vague the status of Canada's Indian treaties, but the authors tend to the idea that the treaties are contracts, and that, therefore, Canadian courts could be called upon to rule on them from the viewpoint of duress, undue influence, mistake and reality of consent at the time they were signed.

Treaties, the authors conclude, are enforceable, but they can be overrid-

den by federal legislation. They detail seven heads under which Indian treaties have been violated, broken, or not fulfilled. The outstanding ones are the violation of treaty-protected hunting rights by the Migratory Birds Convention, the violation of hunting rights by provincial legislation (though early in our history the federal government was so scrupulous about this that they disallowed a Northwest Territories Game Ordinance because it violated Indian treaty rights) and the failure to allot reserves as promised in treaties in the provinces and Northwest Territories.

The migratory birds issue "is one which has preoccupied Indian spokesmen in Canada and become a major obstacle to government discussions with Indian people. It is too important an issue to be left unresolved," write the authors. "The government has shown no signs of dealing with it directly . . . Although litigation in the courts may be the least desirable of the ways of settling the issue, that is the only method which the government has left open to the Indians. If the Indians are held not to be entitled to compensation, and if the government breach of the treaty does not force a renegation of the treaty, then treaty-protected rights are indeed without substance. At least the Indians are entitled to know where they stand."

Serious deficiency

In their summary, the authors conclude that there is serious deficiency in Canada's approach to settling legal claims of Indians. "Claims have astonishing life expectancies. Claims formulated in the last century are still with us. We have paid a high price for our inability to settle claims. Indian leaders are preoccupied with those claims and in 1969 have demonstrated that they have little interest in discussing amendments to the Indian Act, plans for economic development or the terms of the new Indian policy. All the major initiatives of the federal government in the last year have floundered for this reason."

Though acknowledging that legal action is costly and cumbersome, the report suggests that it may be necessary for Indians in those parts of Canada where their Indian title was not extinguished to go to court in pursuance of compensation for what has been taken from them. They could also claim for compensation for the violation of treaty rights. And the authors suggest that the three alternatives to such legal battles would be either a negotiated settlement of claims, a claims commission (which the government has withdrawn from) or a legislative solution along the lines of that now being proposed for the Alaska natives.

What seems clear from the report is that the federal government is now in an untenable position in having unilaterally renounced recognition of aboriginal rights and treaties ("perhaps the treaties shouldn't go on forever" — Mr. Trudeau.)

Dean Macdonald in a foreword says meetings must now be held with Metis and Indian leaders which would inaugurate a program of action across Canada, not merely to gain recognition of formal legal rights but also "substantive fulfillment of what the law requires."

This report is going to have a big effect on the Indian future.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA, published by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. \$10. Published with the aid of a grant from the Harvie Foundation of Calgary.

White paper is worse than Indian Act

By HAROLD CARDINAL

This is an abridged version of a speech given at Glendon College two weeks ago by Cardinal, a Cree Indian from Alberta and a leading spokesman for the rights of native peoples in Canada. He is also the author of *The Unjust Society*, a discussion of the tragedy of Canada's Indians.

A year and a half ago, when we met in this hall, our people were in the process of what were called 'consultation meetings'.

There, we were to embark on a new path to seek, in partnership with the federal government, those ways and means which would help our people alleviate the difficult problems that they face in all aspects of their life.

At that time we reflected a certain dissatisfaction with the consultation process.

Even then, we felt that there were indications that the consultation process was being carried out with less than the sincerity which was being publically proclaimed by different government officials.

Intensive discussion

In Alberta we spent three months in intensive local meetings with the people and local leaders, to discuss what it was we wanted from the federal government and what it was we were going to propose.

After those three intensive months of consultation amongst ourselves, we entered into a week long deliberation, where we identified the common aspirations of our people in Alberta.

At that time we elected six representatives, to represent the province of Alberta in the national consultation meeting in Ottawa, where we were to meet with Indian representatives from all parts of the country.

We met for five intensive days of discussion.

At the end of that national consultation meeting, there was a unanimous decision — there was unity in spirit and in fact.

We made it very clear to the minister of Indian Affairs (Jean Chretien) what it was that we wanted.

It was made explicitly clear to the federal government that the most basic problem that had to be tackled and solved was that of the credibility of the federal government, in as far as our people were concerned.

The WHITE Paper

In June of 1969, the minister delivered in the House of Commons a paper which I have called the WHITE Paper, outlining the position of the government in relation to the Indians of the country.

Upon intensive examination by ourselves and our resource people of the WHITE Paper, it became clear to us that we had just gone through an exercise in futility for the course of one year.

It is probably the most frustrating experience an individual can undergo, when after all the work that you have done ... that the people who you are supposed to be talking to had not listened, or if they had, had not cared.

They had made up their minds before we began to talk to them.

One of the most ironic statements, in fact, one of the most ridiculous statements of the WHITE Paper is the impression that it tries to give to the Canadian people that the contents of the paper were in response to things said by Indians throughout the consultation process.

As far as we are concerned the consultation meetings were nothing but a massive public

relations campaign that enabled the federal government to say that it had 'consulted' our people.

The situation has changed drastically since I was here last.

Cultural genocide

The Indian people of this country face the most serious threat of extinction, of legalized cultural genocide, the betrayal of all treaties, and all honour that had been attached to those treaties, and the destruction of our lands, our resources, our homes.

It is this threat that has angered and frustrated Indian leaders at all levels.

The authors of the WHITE Paper were probably the most expert propagandists that this country has ever created.

The government relies on a lot of doubletalk and doubleplay in trying to convince the Canadian public in its mythical concept of 'equality'.

They say that Indian people are poor today because they have been discriminated against, legally and constitutionally.

While many Indian people would tend to agree that there has been legal discrimination, Indian people would intensely disagree with the concept that so-called 'constitutional discrimination' has resulted in the plight of the Indian today.

Indeed, it is our feeling that if the terms of the treaties had been honoured, many of the social and economic problems that we face today would not be here.

Through the public relations companies that they (federal government) have hired, we who oppose the WHITE Paper, as Indian people, can be accused of shrinking from our responsibilities as citizens, of wanting to continue to be 'wards' of the government.

Those white people who support our position are accused of being for discrimination and against equality.

And yet this is the furthest from the truth.

We agree that there must be equality, but it cannot be theoretical equality.

We have seen the equality which has been extended to the Metis of Canada. We have seen many instances of where their plight is worse than the plight of the treaty Indian.

And yet, if we are to believe the government's WHITE Paper, the Metis, because they have no legal discrimination against them, have equality with all Canadians, and are therefore well off.

The facts of the matter point to another direction.

We cannot accept a concept of equality which tells us we are going to have the opportunity and the right to receive welfare from the same welfare desk as all

Canadian poor people.

We think we are entitled to expect more and we are entitled to want more for our children, our people.

Land ownership

What would probably be one of the most hilarious sections of the WHITE Paper, if it were not so serious, and the Canadian public were not so gullible, is the section which introduces the concept of land ownership to Indian people.

The government says that the status of the land has had a lot to do with the poverty of the Indian because they have not had access to the normal channels of the lending agencies.

Therefore, what they propose to do is set up transitional legislation, on a temporary basis, where land ownership and land control would be transferred to the band level and then Indian people would be given ownership of their own land.

Theoretically, that sounds fine. For people who are not aware of the situation, they feel that you could not ask for a better deal.

Yet, when one considers the practical aspects, one has to come up with a different conclusion.

What does the concept of land ownership as enunciated by the WHITE Paper mean to the Indian living on his reserve?

Because of the legal set-up, all Indian people are entitled equally to reserve land.

In Alberta we looked at what this meant in terms of our reserves.

When we compared the population of our reserves to the land base that is available within the confines of our reserves, we find that probably the larger reserves would have about 70 acres per individual.

The average probably ranges anywhere from 3 to 10 acres per individual.

10 acres useless

So we said "Fine! At last we're going to own 10 acres of land."

But then we wonder what we are going to do with this land. What kind of living can you make from 10 acres of land, especially when you consider that from the same government, in another department, that if we rely on an agricultural base, that same government tells us that we need at least 600 acres of land in order to make that an economic unit, in other words to make a living.

We're far short with 10 acres.

If there was the proper research done, we would probably find that the taxation assessed by federal, provincial and municipal governments would be far above the possible revenue that the 10 acres of land could produce.

And if we could not pay our taxes, then the government would take our lands away.

So this is what we mean when we say that our reserves and lands are being threatened.

The government has worked out this devious plan to do a number of things beside what I have discussed.

By being able to do away with Indian lands (because if all reserves were individually owned, they would cease to have the status of reserves), they would also be able to legally define the word Indian out of existence.

This performs a very astute political service for the federal government — it allows them to transfer Indians to the jurisdiction of the provinces without changing the Canadian constitution.

The government knows that because of the opposition of the Indians and the provincial governments to this transfer, that for many, many years they will not be able to get agreement to change the constitution.

But they have figured out another way where they won't have to touch the constitution, through this concept of land ownership.

And yet, the honorable minister has the audacity to say that we do not understand the WHITE Paper, to say that we have not read the WHITE Paper carefully.

Possibly his problem is that we read his WHITE Paper too damn carefully.

Uninformed public

But how do we convince a Canadian public that is not too knowledgeable of our situation?

A Canadian public that is gullible, especially when the sacred cows of Canadian society are thrown before them — the sacred cows of 'equality' and land ownership.

How do we deal with many Canadians sincerely asking themselves: "What do these damn Indians want; we offer them equality and they don't want it — we offer them responsibility as citizens and they don't want it?"

Our problem now is what do we do to reach such a Canadian public?

Indian 'New Deal' Is Put In Cree Symbols

OTTAWA — More than 4,000 Canadian Indians living in the southern James Bay region of Ontario and Quebec whose mother tongue is Cree speak little English or French. For their benefit, five Indians from Moose Factory have translated into Cree syllabic characters the text of the federal government's recent statement outlining a "new deal" for Indians.

The Ottawa Citizen
Mar. 25, 1970

Les Feux-Follets's portrayal of Indians termed 'savage'

By Krista Maeots
Citizen staff writer

A Quebec Indian spokesman has accused Canada's national dance group, Les Feux-Follets, of portraying Canadian Indians in a "savage" way.

Max Gros-Louis, secretary-treasurer of the Association of Quebec Indians, said Tuesday the folklore ensemble gets financial support to show Indian culture to the world — "but they don't know anything about it."

He was speaking to delegates at the first national Indian cultural conference at the Beacon Arms.

The criticisms came up in the context of a discussion about government grants to train native dancers, and support for exchange programs which would allow these dancers to perform in regions other than their own.

Delegates complained that Indians in some areas have had to import American native dancers for pageants and Indian days.

Training aid sought

They want funds from the government to train Canadian Indians.

Dr. Ahab Spence, head of the cultural development division of Indian affairs, said not enough Indians are applying for cultural grants.

From June 1965 to November 1969, the department spent \$262,496 on such grants, with \$156,001 going to Ontario and Saskatchewan Indians. There were no grants given to Prince Edward Island or Yukon Indians.

"We can't give grants unless they apply," said Dr. Spence.

Of the \$76,401 given to Ontario native groups and individuals, \$55,000 went to the Famous Canadian Indian Exhibit at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto.

Most of the funds for the first two years of the cultural development program were absorbed by the Indians of Canada pavilion at Expo, he said.

The conference requested funds for Indian cultural education institutions set up and run by Indians themselves, such as the North American Indian Travelling College.

wake up
and take
notice

Excalibur

excalibur, founded in 1966, is the student weekly of york university

Box of frozen fish symbolizes the growing Indian solidarity with Cardinal



Unjust Society author Harold Cardinal (right) with his assistant Tony Mercredi: no fanatical, fire-tongued militant — but a man in tune with the ways of his people.

By RUDY PLATIEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

COLD LAKE, Alta. — The Indian woman, her face etched with the lines of age, slipped the new blanket over the arm of the young Indian standing before her in beaded buckskin jacket and mukluks. Looking up into his moon face she told him in Cree that in this way she was adopting him as her son.

The young man was Harold Cardinal, the 24-year-old Cree president of the Indian Association of Alberta and author of *The Unjust Society*.

Before he had left the house where the momentary adoption had occurred in this Northern Alberta reserve, other gifts had been pressed upon him—a crumpled dollar bill from another Indian woman, a cardboard box of frozen fish in the back of his station wagon. They are a measure of the esteem he is winning among the Indian people.

The Unjust Society is an angry book. It accuses the federal Government of a century of colonial-style domination of Indians, deceit, betrayal and a current attempt to implement a new policy that amounts to cultural genocide of Indians. Missionaries, social workers, politicians, Company of Young Canadians volunteers and bureaucrats—are criticized. But if the reader gains an image of Mr. Cardinal as a fanatical, wild-eyed, fiery-tongued militant, the image is wrong.

Among people he doesn't know—particularly whites—he is quiet, reserved and aloof to the point of being cold. Among his friends and those he trusts, the change couldn't be more extreme. He chuckles, laughs and jokes almost endlessly.

His book has pushed him into national prominence but the appeal and support he is drawing, particularly in northern Alberta, is not just among the young adults. Even on rural and rather isolated reserves, where by tradition youth is expected to be silent and listen to the wisdom of elders, Harold Cardinal is becoming something of a folk hero even in the eyes of the old.

Any Indian who appears to be speaking out for his people runs the risk of criticism from

a sizeable portion of Canada's Indians. "What makes him think he can speak for us?" is the frequent reaction.

The time-honored Indian way is for the chief or authorized leader to meet his people and carry forth the consensus. Suspicion and distrust are real hazards for the Indian who appears to be taking an individual role as spokesman.

But Harold Cardinal appears to be a man in tune with the ways of his people. Although there is inevitably some negative reaction, the support he is drawing is growing and unmistakable. It is easier to understand after watching him visit a reserve such as this one, 185 miles northeast of Edmonton.

It is sunny but sub-zero cold outside the community hall. Inside more than 100, including councillors from neighboring reserves, have been waiting for more than two hours and they are getting edgy.

Finally, Harold Cardinal strides in, followed by his assistant, Tony Mercredi, a young Chipewyan Indian with a quick smile. People gather around to greet them but in a few moments the organizers have him seated with council members at a table.

Most of the Indians sit down on benches that line the walls of the hall. Soon several young girls, with broad, beautifully-featured faces, are carrying paper cups of coffee out to the people. Cartons of cigarettes are broken open and the packages are passed around. Soon the hall is filled with thick, eye-irritating smoke.

An Indian stands up in front of the table and introduces Mr. Cardinal. He calls him a great leader and "a living legend in our time." Everyone applauds.

Harold Cardinal stands up and starts to speak. In contrast with the loud and spirited harangue (including an occasional pounding of the table) by some of the councillors or elders who will speak later, the tone of the young man in the buckskin jacket is subdued, measured and respectful.

He stresses that the young should listen to the wisdom of the elders—but urges them to try to make a contribution to the affairs of the reserve.

He emphasizes the need for

unity among Indians. Chances have been lost in the past, he says, because of Indians fighting among themselves.

"Every time Indians fight, someone else benefits. The white man always benefits when we fight," he says.

The meeting is being held to discuss the possible formation of a economic development program to cover several reserves. He tells them that he is here as president of the Indian Association of Alberta to answer any questions they have and to offer any assistance that they might decide is required. He stresses that they must make the decisions. Nothing he says could be construed as suggesting what they should decide.

During the next three hours the debate at times ranges off the subject. The smoke gets thicker and doors are opened. The sun goes down, but few leave.

"I've heard a lot about you and I'm glad to meet you," one stocky Indian dressed in work clothes tells Mr. Cardinal before entering the debate on economic development.

During intermission, men and women approach the table to shake hands and talk about difficulties they are having. Mr. Cardinal and Mr. Mercredi make notes on the problems and promise to look into them.

In the end, the only decision reached is to meet again. For a white man, the meeting might be an exercise in frustration. But the Indians know that any agreement reached under pressure is not agreement in the long run.

The councillors and the visitors are taken to one of the homes where women bustle around, providing dinner in shifts for more than 40 people.

During the dinner, one father who has one of the few copies of Harold Cardinal's book on the reserve, tells how he comes home at night to find his teen-age children reading and re-reading it.

It is after midnight by the time Mr. Cardinal and Mr. Mercredi arrive back home in Edmonton with the new blanket, a crumpled dollar bill and box of frozen fish.

In the morning they are to leave for Banff to meet town residents who, like the In-

dians, also live under the control of the same federal department. Although he believes that Indians must lead their own fight for their rights, Mr. Cardinal is ready to form alliances to deal in strength with the federal Government.

Home is a cosy basement apartment on 11th Street, with a tapestry on one wall and a painting of two birds—cardinals—on the other.

His day usually begins with a jangling telephone. Friends joke about the difficulty of rousing him in the morning—usually he has been up late.

Tony Mercredi, who left a Roman Catholic seminary a few years ago "because everything seemed too materialistic," arrives at the Cardinal apartment and begins intercepting and relaying telephone messages as the two prepare to leave. Days off in a two-month period can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

When the door is opened to leave, Sheldon Cardinal, 18 months, toddles down the carpeted hallway to the apartment entrance, followed by his mother, Maisie, carrying the Cardinal's newest arrival, Cory, four weeks.

At the entrance, Harold Cardinal kisses his wife goodbye, gives Sheldon a hug and walks out to the station wagon

wearing his beaded buckskin jacket and carrying a briefcase.

Although the immediate battle that is catching headlines is the one against the federal

Government's proposed new Indian policy, the goal that Harold Cardinal is working toward is Indian unity. The trip to Cold Lake was another small step toward this goal.

THE MONTREAL STAR, MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1970

Alberta makes profit

Canadian Press

SADDLE LAKE, Alta. — Health Minister John Munro said yesterday the Alberta government is making a profit from federal payments toward health services to Alberta Indian families, "and I suspect it's not going to Indians at all."

Indians protest image on TV

MARCH 1970

BRANTFORD, Ont. — (CP) — An Indian rights group is calling for a boycott of sponsors of television programs which give a "distorted image" of Indian history.

At its regular monthly meeting, the Committee for Social Action for the Original People of the Americas adopted a resolution condemning "Western" movie and television programs.

Mr. Munro said Alberta receives \$45 a year more than it should for these families.

Ottawa continued to pay the Alberta premium of \$120 a year for families of five, and also pays \$75 a year under the federal-provincial medical care insurance agreement.

The committee attacked "pernicious" movies which spread an image "detrimental to the struggle of the original people of North America."

The resolution, signed by representatives of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneca, Oneida and Cherokee tribes, calls for a boycott "of all products, goods and services of sponsors associated with such television movie presentations."

Bath Colonialist, Victoria, B.C., Thursday, Jan. 1, 1970

B.C. Communication Link Formed

By MARY TAYLOR

There is a new raven winging its way about the Indian communities of British Columbia.

Like Raven of Indian legend, his bright eye notes much and he carries the news from place to place, but the new raven shows signs of having an effect not only on the Indian peoples culture and education. He may also have an impact on the non-Indian communities, bringing greater understanding and education to many who are far more ignorant of Indian ways than the Indian people are of the "white man's life."

FIRST STAGE

The letters R.A.V.E.N. stand for Radio and Visual Education Network, a communication network for the use and benefit of British Columbia Indian peoples, a registered non-profit society, which grew from an idea sparked at Simon Fraser University and underwritten by funds from the Donner Canadian Foundation.

Stage one, video-taping of events and statements of interest to the Indian people in particular, did not come into being overnight. For a difficult nine months, before the appointment of Chief Arnold Redma of Qualicum as executive director Aug. 1, when the project actually got under way, Indian people who were contacted, and a number of non-Indian specialists, worked together to plan the operation.

SOME CRITICISM

"We felt the most important role R.A.V.E.N. could play, initially would be to carry information to the Indian communities," said Chief Redma. "We received criticism for taping the speeches of some government officials — for example we were given an interview with Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, who discussed the proposed Indian policy. However, we feel very strongly that to totally reject the new policy statement, it must first be understood."

"We found a lack of understanding of the statement by all the Indian people we spoke to put on tape. And that did not exclude leaders in the community. Now we are waiting for Indian people who first of all have reasons for accepting or rejecting the policy, or who they will be available to any have come up with a com-Indian group or educational promise proposal to make a institution which wishes to use video-tape in the same way. A them — was made at last by his great deal of useful material of this type emerged from the recent Kamloops conference, where we recorded on the spot statements by both the chiefs and government representa-

Discussion on a decision to amalgamate the three Indian Agencies on Vancouver Island into two districts has also been video-taped, so that the issue can be taken directly into even the most remote Indian communities for better understanding, if not easier acceptance.

TV blamed for false impression of Indian

Canadian Press

TORONTO — The most prevalent concepts about Canadian Indians among 550 students interviewed in 22 Metropolitan Toronto high schools are "the stereotypes of the depressed drunk and the TV savage, a report says today.

The report, by five Glendon College students to the federal Indian affairs department, criticizes television for helping to form negative attitudes towards Indians.

The students interviewed did not recognize that their stereotypes "can influence their attitudes to the point of creating prejudice in themselves," it added. "Generally the students sympathized with the Indians, but their attitude was more often one of pity."

Some of the age-old dances and ceremonies have also been put on tape.

And it was to the great delight of Mr. Clutesi that the waiting for Indian people who first of all have reasons for accepting or completely filmed and taped, — rejecting the policy, or who they will be available to any have come up with a com-Indian group or educational promise proposal to make a institution which wishes to use video-tape in the same way. A them — was made at last by his great deal of useful material of this type emerged from the recent Kamloops conference, where we recorded on the spot statements by both the chiefs and government representa-

"This," said Mr. Clutesi, "is how it should be, how it must be, if real understanding is to come between the Indians and the non-Indians. We must have lives."

Discussion on a decision to amalgamate the three Indian Agencies on Vancouver Island into two districts has also been video-taped, so that the issue can be taken directly into even the most remote Indian communities for better understanding, if not easier acceptance.

Indian people. Very seldom does the true message and meaning of our customs and beliefs come through when it is interpreted by even the most conscientious and understanding non-Indian."

The report blames government information services and schools for not providing textbooks, films and study courses to combat these stereotypes.

The report said most of the students had "little idea of the Indian culture as a whole, let alone the social make-up of different tribes."

They said there were many misconceptions about Indians. Some thought the Indians were prevented by law from leaving the reserves or were subjected to a curfew.

The report said there was a widespread feeling the white man had deprived the Indians of the opportunity to provide for themselves and had not given them adequate education and training to compete with modern man.

Education: 'rape and racism' 14

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Frustration of 200 years expressed during Indian Week

March 6, 1970

By LESLEY MINOT

"We are taught that we are inferior," said Gerry Larkin Wednesday at the panel discussion on Indian education.

"The history taught in the schools was written by our oppressors. The conquerors wrote about the conquered," Larkin told the large turnout of students Wednesday.

"The history books say the Indians were savage because the Europeans had to justify their oppression of the Indians. They had to rationalize their guilt," she said.

She went on to say Indians have no roots in history books.

She described the education of the Indians as brainwashing. The present education system, by failing to take this shit out of the text books, was promoting racism, she said.

The text books are not the only problem the native people of B.C. face in education. Angie Todd, who teaches grades one and two at an Indian school in Fort St. James described the problems she has when she attempts to "teach the Indians their identity."

"The department has retarded Indians for one hundred and fifty years and is still doing it in subtle ways," she said.

The problem of Indian identity was also emphasized by Evelyn Paul and Francis Quiwakadoo. Quiwakadoo is presently taking part in a program called "Think Indian" which he described is attempting to teach "what it means to be an Indian."

"There has to be a tremendous development of self in Indian young people. They are asked to cope with a situation in which as yet they have no guidelines," said Quiwakadoo.

"We feel we are losing our identity," said Paul. Although her grandfather was chief of the Okanagan band she admitted that she could not speak her native tongue.

"Not many native young people know their language," she said.

"We are concerned about the large dropout rate with our people," she said. "It is presently ninety-four per cent from grades one to twelve."

She told the students to take time to look at both sides of the picture and understand why we have difficulty.

"I am proud to be a Ojibway, but I have been put in the position of having to become a racist," said Quiwakadoo.

"When asked why I am a racist I can only answer that you put me there," said Quiwakadoo. "It is becoming increasingly difficult for me to believe a white man who says he is not racist and hard for me to believe a white man who says he wants to help us. The minute I treat a white man totally as a human being I have a knife in my back."

Quiwakadoo's disillusionment was echoed by Paul, "Amount of support Indians received from whites was not encouraging. I don't like to say it, but I see bloodshed coming," she said.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL 4/20/70

Indians blast white schools

MARCH 19, 1970

OTTAWA — (CP) — A \$5,000,000 Alberta Indian education centre designed to train entire family units was proposed to the Commons Indian affairs committee by the Indian Association of Alberta.

Harold Cardinal, president of the association, said the centre would not take over from the provincial school system but was intended to support and complement it.

But the white man's school system got a pretty thorough blasting from the Indians during the two committee sessions Tuesday.

Clive Linklater, an association staff member, said the Indian's whole educational experience in the regular school system is one of cultural conflict.

"Cultural shock" resulted in a high drop-out rate — about 98 per cent of Indian children starting in Grade 1, never reach Grade 12.

"The whole system is geared to de-Indianizing Indians," he said. "For many years the white people didn't believe that Indians were people at all... and I don't think attitudes have changed very much in the last 400 years."

White people expected Indians to change their attitudes overnight but were not willing to change themselves.

Eugene Steinhauer, central vice-president of the association, said the schools operated by religious groups are a destructive influence on Indian culture. Children at one were told that beating drums was evil.

Roy Piepenburg, an educational consultant to the association, said the most serious problem was the lack of Indian autonomy in education.

He said studies carried out on Indian education have seldom reached the Indians themselves. "Indian people are able to articulate their problems."

The federal government should not pour money into provincial school construction to provide room for Indians without approval from the Indian band concerned.

Mr. Cardinal complained

that the annual grant to the association which comes through the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Agency, was cut this year to \$60,000 from \$200,000 even after the association had been promised it would get the same as last year.

He said the association needed \$1,300,000 to do research into economic development for Indians.

Meanwhile the Saskatchewan Indian Federation was making a similar plea before the Canadian Conference on Educational Research.

Father Renaud said the federation leaders propose a province-wide Indian school board which would manage the money for Indian education, hire expert assistance and oversee the performance of the schools.

Walter Currie, president of the Canadian Indian-Eskimo Association, said the educational system "has failed miserably" leaving Indians with two alternatives — become "brown-skinned whites" or drop out.

"The majority have dropped out," he said.

He accused educational researchers of preparing their studies to get plaudits from their colleagues.

"They never come back to ask the Indians what they think of the results, or get their opinions."

Rev. Andre Renaud, of the University of Saskatchewan, said Saskatchewan Indians "have been asked 'he federal government to turn over all money for education to the Indians themselves."

Ill-will created 'that will be hard to rectify'

Black skies cloud 'climate of understanding' in Kent

By RUDY PLATIEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

CHATHAM — The five trustees of the Howard-Harwich Area School Board recalled were puzzled during the summer of 1967.

In the spring they had asked the council of the Moravian Reserve to appoint an Indian representative to sit on the board with full voting powers. But as the summer dragged on into fall, there was no response from the Indians.

"When we found out why, it really bothered us," said Fred Fysh, a Thamesville farmer and chairman of the board.

"We discovered that they thought we didn't really mean what we had said."

From this beginning the trustees tried to establish a rapport with the Indians and when the trustees voted to add the name of the reserve to the township school, Omer Peters, who was then chief, told one of the trustees: "That was the kindest thing you could have done."

But when the Kent County Board of Education was created in 1969, it refused to appoint an Indian representative to the board despite the recommendation of an inter-school organizing committee of trustees from former boards. Last March a motion to allow the appointment was defeated again.

"It's got to the point now that even if they gave the

Indians representation on the board, this close feeling—of being a part of it—is gone," Mr. Fysh said.

"It will take a lot of forgetting, which Indians don't do. It has created ill-will that will be hard to rectify," he said.

Mr. Fysh said that some of the Kent board trustees talked of democracy when turning down the appointment, "but how could an Indian ever get elected to this board even if they could vote?"

"If I was in the Indians' shoes, I'd be scared to death of democracy. We are all so damn pious and go to church but as one man said, 'Christianity would be a beautiful thing if we only practiced it.' Maybe that's why I'm practically a dropout as far as religion is concerned," Mr. Fysh said.

"Sure we've helped the Indian. We've taken his land, his religion, destroyed his social order and society and substituted Christianity. Wonderful isn't it?"

Because reserve land is held by the Crown in trust for Indians, they cannot vote in school board elections. The amendment to the Schools Administration Act which permits Indian representation was passed by the Legislature to enable Indians to gain some measure of involvement in the education of their children.

Dr. P. Laird Gibbs, one of the trustees who opposed the motion, said the appointment

of "an ethnic member" to what is basically an elected body would have been a retrograde step—another weakening of the democratic process.

"The most divisive influences there are in life today are ethnic and religious," Dr. Gibbs said.

There is already a separate school system based on religion, he said, and "the sooner it is kicked out, the better."

Immigrants have managed to attend public schools and retain their language, religion and culture, he said, but the Indian "wants it done at our expense with no additional effort on his part."

Rule on Indians may be revised, Roberts says

The Ontario Government is considering whether it should make it mandatory for school boards serving Indian children to appoint an Indian representative to the board, Premier John Roberts said yesterday.

At present, school boards which provide schooling for Indian children by agreement with the federal Government are permitted to name an Indian representative to the board.

County school board branded racist, paternalistic

By RUDY PLATIEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

CHATHAM — "The bastards are just basically lazy," said Dr. P. Laird Gibbs as he relaxed in an easy chair during an interview in his home.

It was one of a number of observations made about Indians by Dr. Gibbs, a Dresden physician, former mayor and now a trustee on the Kent County Board of Education which last month refused to appoint an Indian representative to the board, a move permitted by provincial legislation.

"Kent County is one of the richest but most racist in the whole country," said Omer Peters, executive director of the Union of Ontario Indians and a resident of the Moravian Reserve near Thamesville.

His statement was made in the heat of a meeting last January but he said last week that even after calm consideration, he still hasn't changed his opinion.

Evan Arnold, the 48-year-old Chatham-area farmer and trustee who moved that Indian representation be

allowed on the board, said he doesn't believe that racism had anything to do with the defeat of his motion.

Mr. Arnold said that many of the opponents of his motion had valid arguments, some points of which he agreed with.

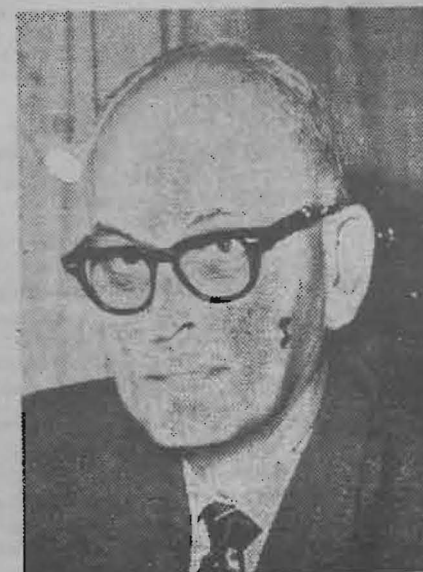
"It's just a matter of which points you put the most value on," he said.

The motion which Mr. Arnold, introduced at the March 17 board meeting with the phrase, "It's an matter of human dignity," received majority support, with a 9-to-7 vote, but lost because it failed to gain the two-thirds majority necessary to reverse a previous board decision reached a year ago. Under board procedure, the matter cannot be raised again this year.

The board's decision is in contrast to that of several other boards in the province which have made the first move and approached Indians to have them appoint a representative.

John A. Burgess, a Wallaceburg lawyer and one of the trustees who voted against the motion, said he and at least one other member of the

board took the position that to appoint an Indian to an elected board would be maintaining an attitude of paternalism and "specialized pedestal



Dr. P. Laird Gibbs

treatment" towards the Indians.

"I think other boards (which) appoint Indians) may be salving their conscience but I want more than that for our Indians," he said.

He said what Indians were asking for was something more than democracy and the permissive provincial legislation was part of an attempt by the province, and federal Governments to shift their responsibilities over to county boards.

Mr. Burgess said what he wanted for Indians was nothing less than what he wants for himself—the right to vote and run for election to the board.

He said that to appoint an Indian to the board would be to maintain the status quo of the Indians.

Ironically, many Indians look upon the Kent board's decision as paternalism. An opportunity to be involved in a decision-making position was opened to them by provincial legislation but once again, they seem to feel, while men in their wisdom were deciding what was best for Indians.



Cindy Noah



Edward Tobias



Amy Peters

Indian students in Howard-Harwich Moravian School: they're part of a pilot project financed by Indian Affairs to make Indians and whites aware of Indian culture.

TORONTO, APRIL 22, 1970

Equality— and how Indians see it

By RUDY PLATIEL

Globe and Mail Reporter

DRESDEN — "Whether the Indians like it or not, we're not going to be imposed upon by a minority. They have absolutely no regard for democracy."

This was the view of Dr. P. Laird Gibbs, a Dresden physician and one of seven trustees who defeated a motion at the Kent County Board of Education to allow an Indian appointee to the board, as permitted by provincial legislation.

Dr. Arthur W. Blue, a Shoshonean Indian and lecturer in sociology at Althouse College in London, Ont., countered with the comment: "If it was the other way around, would not the white man demand representation?..."

The Legislature gave Indians, who cannot vote in school board elections, the opportunity to gain representation and involvement in the education of their children.

The controversy raises a question in the minds of Indians as to what is democracy and what is equal opportunity?

"If democracy is the rule of the 100 by 51, then the rights of the other 49 must be constantly examined," said Walter Currie, 47, president of the Indian Eskimo Association of Canada.

"Democracy in its truest form means that the least shall also be heard. And the least, in this case the Indians, have never been heard in Kent County—and ought to be heard."

Mr. Currie said that for board members to say that giving Indians voting rights would be giving them equal opportunity "was a lot of hogwash." Under the present system minorities

and disadvantaged groups have little chance, he said.

"The prime example is the poor. How many poor people sit on social councils or the boards of YMCAs? How many poor people sit in any position of control, responsibility or involvement? How many Indians sit on boards which have positions of power, responsibility and authority?"

"Hell, the democratic system says that you must be of a specific social and economic income level to achieve the appointment. If for example, you examined every member of this board, you'd find that every one of them has a fairly good level of income and social standing in the community," Mr. Currie said.

Dr. Blue said that the troubles of Indian children in the education system simply reflect the larger problems of Indian culture within Western culture.

There are two ways of looking at it, he said. The first was that either Indians adapt "or else." The second was for the dominant white majority to start considering that perhaps Indian culture has something of value to offer.

The Indians' decision-making process is different from that of Western culture. Dr. Blue said, in that it works on an evolutionary approach and on consensus.

"Two people may sit down, each with his own idea, and what comes out in the end may not be either idea, but one with the best of both," Dr. Blue said.

The whole idea of electing someone to represent a group ("a sort of super human being") is alien to Indians, he said. Even the present system of electing chiefs and councils was something imposed on the Indian by white governments to make it easier for them to deal with Indians, he said.

"It's playing a sort of God relationship to say that one culture should be wiped out," Dr. Blue said.

Dr. Blue said there is a basic difference between immigrants and Indians. The immigrants came knowing what was here and presumably accepting it but the Indian never had that choice, he was here and it grew up around him.

The home culture of immigrants still exists somewhere, he said, but "if you destroy the culture of Indians in North America, it will never exist again anywhere else."

The Kent board offered the Indians three seats on an advisory committee but the Indians refused. Some board members felt this was unreasonable and too demanding on the part of Indians to reject it and insist on representation on the board.

To many Indians, advisory committees have been used by white decision-makers to give an appearance that they are listening. But often the committees are just window-dressing. Indians have found.

To the Indians, the trustees' insist-

ence of imposing on them something they strongly distrusted, just confirmed in their minds that the trustees were not interested in what Indians felt or thought.

Several trustees point to a unique cross-cultural program being instituted in the Howard-Harwich Moravian School as an example of the board's concern for Indian pupils.

"The cross-cultural program didn't cost them a cent—why shouldn't they approve it," said Faye Jacobs, band administrator for the Moravian Reserve.

"If the money was coming out of their pocket, would they still have approved it?"

(The cross-cultural program to make both white and Indian students in the integrated school aware of Indian culture and heritage, is a pilot project financed by the Indian Affairs branch.)

Among the Indians, the mood after being refused is surprisingly unemotional and non-militant.

Chief Richard Snake of the Moravian Reserve said he and his council haven't seriously discussed the matter since. Chief Burton Jacobs of Walpole Island said he didn't think "there is any use in pursuing the matter at the present time."

The personal feelings of Pat Issac, the Walpole Island band administrator, summed up the attitude of many Indians:

"I just really don't care anymore. If they don't want us, fine. We've always had to fight for anything in this area anyway."

Then there's John Bateman, a white service station owner and former trustee on the old Howard-Harwich area school board before it was absorbed into a county system. His feeling:

"Let's face it, you and I didn't create these problems, but we are not helping things."

WALLACEBURG — "Frequently the school was regarded by a number of Indian parents as just another penalty outfit like police or welfare organizations."

This was the observation of Dr. Lionel Orlikow, an education researcher, after a study last year of the integration of children from Walpole Island Reserve into Wallaceburg schools.

Many of the problems were not just local but were common, he said, to many communities near reserves in Ontario.

The school problem is part of a larger community problem, said Dr. Orlikow of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Some of his observations:

—There is physical integration in the schools but little social integration.

—Although Indian students are progressing, the educational achievement gap between them and white students appears to be increasing.

—There is little dialogue between Indians and whites in the community.

—Many whites make "some pretty frightening statements" about Indians without ever having talked to an Indian or visited the reserve.

Dr. Gibbs, who described the reasoning in the Orlikow report as "paranoid and schizophrenic," said he didn't think the present educational system could be so bad. It was "too bad" if minorities such as Indians couldn't succeed within its framework, he said.

"It's a cold, cruel world," said Dr. Gibbs.

Studies such as Dr. Orlikow's have tended to show that although in theory Indians should have control, in practice they have very little say in the education of their children.

At least one of the many reasons, as found by Mr. Orlikow, is that many Indian parents not only do not feel a part of the democratic system, they often regard the school as an alien system imposed upon them and controlled by white men who either don't know or don't care how Indians think or feel.

"But while the Indians are progressing, I feel that they are falling farther behind the white who are progressing at a faster rate."

"I think that in this particular community they could look to certain historical factors... It was one of the first communities in Ontario to integrate Indian pupils into the high school... And they could look to the Indian princess at the high school, one of their themes in festivals... And they could look to the number of graduates that have gone on to community colleges."

"But this is I think much more for the souls of the white people. The gap between the Indian and white is increasing. My concern is that events are moving much too fast..." Dr. Orlikow said.

He said he found a disproportionate number of Indian students in the two-year stream in high school and "no sizeable number" in the stream leading to university entrance. This is an addition to a serious dropout rate.

"One of the reasons, I think, is that a large number of teachers, many quite unconsciously really didn't feel that the Indian pupils could succeed."

"I think many of them looked at the Indian pupils and automatically separated them into white-Indians and Indian-Indians. Those who were white-Indians, who would be quite verbal in class, raise their hands, they would smile and so on, they were all right."

"But unfortunately those who were, shall we say, shy and reticent, could be labeled sullen or obstinate, or a child who, say, might have to stay home and take care of younger sisters or brothers, would be labelled as disinterested."

Dr. Gibbs said that last fall he attended a meeting with trustees and officials on the reserve but "when you get down to brass tacks they didn't know what they wanted."

Saskatchewan Metis

Drive 200 miles for free wheat

The Metis society said last week that about 5,200 Metis in 879 families in 24 Saskatchewan communities were near starvation because Canadian wheat board policies blocked Metis from getting a milling permit to grist wheat pledged by farmers.

Then 150, 50-pound sacks of meal were donated by 10 Purdue district farmers for Metis in Meadow Lake, Buffalo Narrows and La Loche, communities in the extreme northwest of Saskatchewan.

Meadow Lake is 175 miles northwest of Saskatoon.

Josephine Pamburn of the Saskatchewan Metis Society said her people "appreciate the gift of the wheat and are learning how to use it to help feed our hungry children."

She said many of the Metis families are disturbed about the reports that they were "starving."

"We'd never starve as long as there are rabbits to hunt."

But she said many families were going hungry and almost all needed flour to round out a diet of meat.

"There's just no money. We can't get social assistance and there are no jobs. No jobs at all."

She said that most of the Metis families in Meadow Lake were even forced to buy water.

"There's no running water in the houses, and there are no wells." She said she was paying \$1.50 a barrel for water.

"People call us 'dirty,' but with water at that price you don't waste it on baths."

Mrs. Pamburn, a widow who has lived in the area since 1935, said she and most other Metis families in Meadow Lake paid \$50 to \$60 a month for shacks with no plumbing and no heat.

She said she has been teaching those who come in to pick up the ground wheat how it can be used. "I boil it up and use it for cereal and my kids like it."

She said she has also made bread with it.

Saturday, Otto Lang, federal minister responsible for the Canadian wheat board, said policies would not be changed to permit wheat to be donated outside the board.

He said if excess amounts of wheat were distributed by farmers outside the board it could affect prices the board could ask.

"The proper thing to do for hungry people in Canada is to care for them through a welfare system," he said.

Mrs. Pamburn said in a telephone interview yesterday that most of the families were not able to get by on welfare.

**You know
it makes sense**

Lang shatters Metis' hopes for wheat milling permit

By KATHY CRONKITE
Staff Reporter

Any hopes the Metis Society may have had for obtaining a milling permit for the wheat donated to hungry natives by farmers were shattered Saturday.

Otto Lang, minister responsible for the Canadian wheat board, was on the hot-seat at the Metis Society of Saskatchewan's annual meeting and was bombarded with numerous questions. Basically his answers didn't prove too acceptable to delegates.

Mr. Lang said he was convinced both federal and provincial departments must work on the problem of adequate finances for people to buy the products they need.

He said there is over production, therefore marketing chances are spread among farmers, rather than letting the man with the fastest truck get to the market first. So this is a matter of the orderly marketing of wheat.

"If you let it move out anywhere you want it to go it will destroy the market for farmers' wheat completely." Also, he said, the wheat the farmer can sell has a great deal more value than wheat he can't sell.

Basically, the poor people of the country, whether a particular group or not, Indian or Metis, or others, face the same sort of problem of finding enough money for different things important to them in life, and that includes bread, he said.

What they really need is more financial assistance, more financial ability to get for themselves the things they need.

"One of the difficulties we would have if we started trying to make exceptional cases for people who are poor is that there is no way you can draw the line. If you do it for one group, there are perhaps others as poor somewhere else."

Mr. Lang said "We must as a province and a nation see to it that people in the nation have the financial ability to take care of their basic needs, and then they should be able to use that financial ability to buy the bread with the wheat valued at its commercial value from the system generally."

He said he would never object to the farmers giving the wheat away so long as they gave it away on their quota, but when they give it away off the quota, they were actually taking away from some other farmers, a share of what is a possible market.

"We can't destroy the orderly marketing systems and throw away need of individual farmers of whom many are poor."

One delegate asked what measures the government was taking to spread the wealth and said, "How do you have the nerve to come here in such an unconscionable manner after your party supported a fat pension for members of Parliament? Is that what you call spreading the wealth?"

Mr. Lang said he was concerned with the problem, but bickering continued and finally Mr. Lang declared "If you would have preferred me not to come... if you suggest that I have gall in coming here in trying to talk to you about these problems, I am content. I can leave right now."

Another delegate retorted, "I would ask you to stay

longer because think some of us people have more questions to ask and I think you should be manly enough to

stay with us."

Order came, but Mr. Lang's arguments never really soothed delegates, as another

said that by stressing the orderly marketing thing, he was putting it before humanity.

Adams blames society for poverty facing Metis

The causes of poverty lie in the society, not in the individual says the outgoing president of the Saskatchewan Metis Society.

Dr. Howard Adams told delegates at the annual meeting held Saturday "It is not your fault that you are poor—it is the fault of the kind of society."

"We are poor because we are paid less than the whites. We can not get jobs because of discrimination." This is due to colonialism and racism in Canada, he said.

"We are conquered people and have been at the mercy of the white man and his government."

"We've got to unite and struggle together. We'll never get out of poverty by depending on the white people to help us or the governments."

"After all, they put us into these conditions," he said. Dr. Adams said many communities in the north are controlled by a white group "and if you don't do what they want, they can make it tough for you."

The Metis are given only the dirty and menial jobs that pay little. The good jobs are given to the white man, he said.

"How many white men do you see fighting fires, picking stones or roots or beet picking in southern Alberta?"

At Manpower offices the men are given laboring and janitors jobs and the women only domestic or waitress work. Also, since the work is seasonal, many are unable to plan for the future.

He said many are on welfare because of no jobs.

"The welfare workers make us beg and feel like beggars. There is a great deal of trouble between the social workers and our people."

This is typical in all colonial countries. Native people are never allowed to develop any industries.

Another reason for poverty is that some of the towns are old Hudson Bay trading posts. Now that furs are no longer worth anything, the stores continue to dominate.

They are the product of the Hudson Bay Co., celebrating its 300 years of being in business.

"We should demand \$300,000 from them for exploiting our ancestors for generations. They are partly to blame for not allowing any other business to develop in our communities."

"We are poor because there is no employment in our communities. As long as we are trapped in this we can never make much of our lives."

"We must develop more leaders and skilled people who manage our own co-operative businesses."

Dr. Adams said it has also been said that the Metis are poor because they lack good education. But he said he could not agree with this.

He said the schools that Metis are sent to are white men's schools—which are racist. He said it is necessary to change them.

He told delegates at the meeting that when he took office, he gained a reputation



HOWARD ADAMS



JIM SINCLAIR

of being militant. "I felt we had to involve the people as much as possible."

Without the support of all members, the executive is powerless, and if the government knows there are Metis throughout the province concerned, instead of just the president, it will act. That is why, he said he adopted a grass roots movement.

He said he wanted to make the Metis society a political movement—not under a party banner—but one which is concerned with issues that really affect the lives of the Metis, like housing, unemployment and discrimination.

STANDARD-FREEHOLDER, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1970

Cree Trains To Help His people

KINGSTON (CP) — A Cree Indian training to be a custodial officer in one of Canada's penitentiaries thinks the job will enable him to help his people.

Joe Crowe, 42, is one of 19 Indians here as officers. In 1955 he was the youngest Indian chief in Canada and was chief for six years on his Saskatchewan reserve.

He was selected in February to train in Kingston with 18 other Indians in a project sponsored jointly by the solicitor-general's department and the department of Indian affairs and northern development.

Only six remain in the project after successfully completing its first phase.

On completion of the course placement in the correctional service will be determined by each man's suitability.

While undergoing training the men receive an allowance comparable to the initial salary of a correctional officer, Grade 1, approximately \$2,400 a year.

"It's an extremely rewarding experience," Mr. Crowe said Monday in an interview. "We're being given the opportunity to be trained so we can return to Western Canada and be of service to our own people—these who have, possibly by their own ignorance, gone astray of the law."

New head of Metis society

Jim Sinclair of Punnichy was elected president of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan at the annual meeting held in Saskatoon this weekend.

Past president is Dr. Howard Adams of Saskatoon who did not seek re-election. Mr. Sinclair's only opponent was Ed St. Pierre of Yorkton.

The new president is a non-Treaty Indian and so considers himself a Metis because treaty Indians are the only natives with any recognizable status in Canada, he says.

Retiring president, Dr. Adams, has been given a year's sabbatical from the education faculty, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon Campus. He will teach a summer course in Montreal then travel to Vancouver where he plans to write a book and become involved in a Canada-wide Metis movement.

In the second week of April, a delegation which included both Dr. Adams, Mr. Sinclair and representatives from various Metis communities spent several days in Ottawa meeting with cabinet ministers, senators and other officials.

Should Ottawa's interest wane, Mr. Sinclair said with a laugh, he would go to the United Nations. "even if I have to hitchhike all the way. It seems foreign aid is so easy to get. Maybe we should try for our money that way."

The annual meeting was attended by about 150 Metis from 28 local chapters. One of the observers was Stan Daniels, president of the Alberta Metis Society.

Mr. Daniels said the Alberta government gives the society an annual grant of \$180,000.

"Your government (Saskatchewan) gives only \$20,000. It takes at least that much for me every month to run my organization. We have to let the affluent society know we are here," Mr. Daniels said.

Louis Riel, patriot and rebel 17



By BEN SWANKEY

The execution of Louis Riel 84 years ago lies heavily on the conscience of our country. The descendants of the Metis (people of mixed ancestry) and the Indian people continue to live in poverty, ill health and joblessness, the victims of a persisting cruel discrimination. The people of French Canada, who supported Riel and the Metis with such ardor, still struggle to be masters in their own house.

The basic issue involved in both the Red River "rebellion" of 1869-70 and the Saskatchewan "rebellion" of 1885 was the question of how the west was to be opened up. The new commercial and industrial interests of eastern Canada were determined to seize the land and its wealth for themselves, in complete disregard of the rights of its inhabitants. They were quite prepared to ruthlessly suppress any opposition by force.

The position of the Indian people was particularly desperate. The buffalo had been deliberately exterminated to starve them into submission, and now they were faced with being interned on reservations, prisoners in their own land.

Riel's dramatic career and tragic death were closely linked with this early history of the west.

In 1860 negotiations for the sale of the west to Canada by the Hudson's Bay Company were still in progress between the British and Canadian governments and the company. Before agreement was reached the Canadian government sent out a party to survey the lands occupied by the settlers on the banks of the Red River. It was a clearly illegal act. Fearing expropriation of their lands, the Metis took the law into their own hands and stopped the survey. In another illegal act, the Canadian government, appointed William McDougall as lieutenant-governor and sent him via the United States to take control of the colony. An armed party of Metis stopped him at the U.S. border and there he remained. When the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company broke down, the Metis, under the leadership of the 24-year-old Riel, took the initiative in establishing a provisional government.

Under Riel's leadership the French and Scotch Metis and the white settlers were quickly united. Although the French-speaking Metis outnumbered the English-speaking population, Riel practiced the policy of equal representation from both groups.

With wide popular backing the provisional government proceeded to draw up a List of Rights embodying the people's demands and outlining the terms on which they were prepared to enter Confederation. Negotiations with a hostile Canadian government were difficult. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and his personal representatives, Donald A. Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company and Bishop Tache, used every manner of duplicity but were unable to undermine the unity of the people. Grudgingly, the prime minister accepted the List of Rights and included them in the Manitoba Act of 1870, forming the province of Manitoba.

Then followed a series of events, politically bizarre in the extreme.

The government of Ontario put a price of \$5,000 on the head of Louis Riel.

While Riel was in hiding the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba asked for his help to repel a Fenian invasion expected from across the line. Though they were bitter and disillusioned with their treatment at the hands of the Macdonald government, Riel and the Metis responded with an armed force of 500 armed men. For this patriotic act they were publicly thanked by the lieutenant-governor.

Twice Riel was elected to the House of Commons, once by acclamation. Threats against his life by reactionary elements dominating Ontario politics prevented him from taking his seat.

Time and again Prime Minister Macdonald promised amnesty to Riel and his aides, but the promise was never kept.

Finally, in 1875 Riel was exiled from his native land by an Act of Parliament. Broken in health but never wavering in his principles, he moved to the United States, eventually settling

in Montana where he married and took out U.S. citizenship.

In 1884 the Metis from the banks of the Saskatchewan together with white settlers again asked Riel to help them. He agreed. Returning on July 1, he lost no time in uniting the Metis and white settlers behind a List of Rights embodying their grievances and demands. These included titles to the lands they already occupied, the needs of the farmers, an elective form of government, and better treatment for the Indians.

The answer of the Canadian government was to send a special force of police to arrest the leaders of the re-

Ben Swankey is a Vancouver, B.C., journalist. This article has slightly abridged was first published in the Pacific Tribune.

form movement and to hastily mobilize an army of 8,000 men to suppress it by force.

Under the brilliant guerilla leader, Gabriel Dumont, the Metis twice defeated superior forces sent against them, once at Duck Lake and again at Fish Creek. In the final battle at Batoche, some 200-300 Metis held at bay an army five times as large under the command of General Middleton. Protected by an ingenious system of trenches dug into the river hillside, they fought off all attacks for three days without a casualty. Only when they ran out of ammunition on the fourth day did they retreat and disperse into the bush. Dumont made his way safely to the U.S.

The Indian bands limited their actions to raiding and seizing supplies from government and Hudson's Bay Company warehouses to feed their starving families. Their two chiefs, Poundmaker and Big Bear, defeated every detachment of soldiers and police sent against them. Both finally surrendered and were sent to prison. They died shortly after their release. Eight Indians were hanged for their part in the rebellion. With their dying breaths they shouted defiance at the authorities who had stolen their lands and interned them to starve on reservations. They urged the Indians, assembled by the governments to watch the execution, never to forgive or forget.

Louis Riel surrendered to carry on the battle in the courts. Charged with treason, he rejected all pressures to save his life by pleading insanity. He was hanged on Nov. 16, 1885, in Regina. "Do not fear," were his last words. "I

shall not shame my friends nor rejoice my enemies by dying a coward."

Louis Riel was a sincere, courageous, honest, incorruptible and exceedingly capable political leader. He was completely devoted to his people. More than once he contemptuously rejected government bribes. But to this day historians depict him as insane, while more enlightened playwrights still portray him as some sort of mystic.

Despite all slanders, past and present, the name of Riel lives on, becoming more meaningful with every year that passes. And the Indian and Metis people, silent and suppressed for so long, today proudly raise the name of Riel in their fight for equality and their rights as a people.

Letter to the Premier

Sir: This is an open letter to Premier Ed Schreyer:

Dear Mr. Schreyer: Not too long ago you made mention that there would probably be an unveiling of a statue of Louis Riel. The reason for the statue, I understand, is the contribution Riel made to his people.

Now I ask you, what advancement have the Indians and Metis made since Riel was hanged on Nov. 16, 1885?

For example, have you ever seen an Indian or Metis operate equipment on highway construction or work as a flagman? Where do you find them on this type of work? I'll tell you. They are usually the fellows who are mixing that dirty black stuff back in the bush somewhere, which is used to blacktop the road.

Who works on the CNR in various towns as brakeman, yardman, or doing maintenance work on passenger trains, getting them ready? These jobs are relatively clean. We can use The Pas as an example. The various positions on these jobs are passed on to the succeeding generations of the same families. What chance does the native population have? I am sure that The Pas is not the only place where such a thing goes on.

There is no doubt whatsoever this is exactly what is going on in town and city maintenance departments.

Now, if the Metis have made any advancement since 1885, can you tell where it shows? I do ask if you will give me some real concrete facts to show the Metis that he has been given



REST IN PEACE

Stick To Scenery

SMITHS FALLS, Ont. (CP) — A proposed Canadian stamp honoring Louis Riel has roused the ire of Mayor T. O. Ashwell. Dr. Ashwell wrote Postmaster-General Eric Kierans objecting to Riel's selection because the 1884 Riel rebellion cost many Canadian lives, and its leader was not even a Canadian. Riel, he says, became a United States citizen a year before the rebellion took place.

Kierans replied that people selected for commemorative stamps had "contributed to the evolution of Canada and we cannot deny their place in the history of our nation."

The mayor feels that Hitler and the Kaiser also had a definite effect on Canada.

"If the post office can't find any true Canadian heroes worthy of commemoration," he said, "let them keep drawing scenery."

Deny Metis existence

By Ron Evans

MONTREAL — Canada's non-persons are the Metis. Less than a century ago the whole world followed the newspaper stories of the battles that raged across Canada's western plains and forests as these people rode to war under the guidance of their fiery leader, Louis Riel.

TODAY RIEL IS GONE and the Metis' only fight is a grim struggle for survival in a society that refuses to let them exist.

Look into the files of the Canadian government census. There are no Metis there. Look into the books about the origin of Canada's people. No Metis there.

The reason is quite simple. Canada is quite simple. Canada has solved the problem created for them by the presence of these people, in a very ingenious way. They have simply denied that the Metis exists. They have declared him a non-person. Further they have declared him a non-being. He just isn't.

ALL ACROSS CANADA, each census period, thousands of Metis are listed as being of French, Scottish, Irish or other European origins. In almost all cases their last white "ancestor" died at least 100 years ago.

WHEN THE METIS finally laid down their rifles 85 years ago, and, vanquished, accepted Canada's offer of peace, there were only a few thousand of them. Today they number around 500,000. Twice the total combined population of all Canada's other Indians and Eskimos.

Wherever they are living in scattered settlements in white rural areas, they are anything but ignored. Their children — if they go to school — are jeered at, mocked, called names and beaten up by other students. Teachers often single

Strange are the ways of governments.

The current effort on the part of Ottawa to whitewash the dubious career and reputation of Louis Riel, who was hanged for his nefarious activities in 1885, is reflected in the decision to release a six-cent stamp on June 19, honoring this rebel.

Perhaps, of course, the federal government thinks it is running out of legitimate heroes to be commemorated. Perhaps, other nations are running into the same problem. Perhaps, they will decide to take a leaf from Canada's book.

The United States could issue a stamp honoring its arch-traitor, Benedict Arnold. Or John Wilkes Booth, murderer of Abraham Lincoln.

Britain could get into the act with a stamp paying homage to Lord Haw-Haw who worked so diligently for the Nazi cause during the war.—Calgary Herald

APRIL 10, 1970

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS

them out for punishment, and school boards let it be known that "breeds" aren't welcome in their schools.

There is one thing all Metis everywhere in this country have in common. That is their poverty. They are poor in a way that most people in this country cannot even imagine. In Metis communities across Canada I have seen their log huts, plastered with mud, oddly similar - looking from coast to coast. These huts are thrown up on land that does not belong to them. They do not even own the dirt beneath their floors. The land they squat on cannot be farmed, and most of them do not have enough education for the simplest urban jobs, even if such jobs were available.

They have no fishing, hunting or trapping rights, even though most of them live in isolated rural or forest areas, which are often advertised as hunter's paradises. They cannot afford hunting or fishing licenses, and even if they did, permits would do them no good. They are designed to satisfy the whims and fancies of sportsmen from cities like Montreal, not to meet the needs of men with 10 hungry mouths to feed.

Thus, refused the right to their own identity, living unwanted on land that is not their own, eating skimpy meals purchased with money given them by someone else, the Metis dare not fight or speak out. Any man who dares to organize them, or to encourage them to fight for changes, risks angering the colonial forces in power, and risks making many little children hungry. That is why no Metis leaders are speaking out strongly for their people. It would be nice to be free, but it is not so nice to hear little children crying in the night.

Manitoba's 100th Birthday Brings Riel Name To Fore

Problems Accompany the Gains of Canadian Arctic's Eskimos and Indians

By EDWARD COWAN
Special to The New York Times

TUKTOYAKTUK, Northwest Territories—Willy Felix, who is 19 years old, is a blocker in the Tuk Fur Garment factory.

Lilly Louie, 23, is a stewardess with Great Northern Airways.

John Steen, 36, is Great Northern's agent here, operates his own taxi and freight-handling business and is the chairman of the new hamlet council.

All three are natives of the western Canadian Arctic. All three are full-time, year-round participants in the wage economy.

The oil exploration boom in the western Arctic is creating more jobs—if not with drilling and seismic crews, then unloading the barges that carry supplies down river in summer, building motels for the expanding tourist trade, or driving taxis, serving food or making up hotel beds.

The Tuk Fur Garment factory, said Ernest Latour, who instructs new workers, expects to double last year's sales of \$180,000 within a year or two and to double its work force, now 29. Founded by the Government, it will become an employee-owned cooperative on July 1.

Despite all this economic expansion, there are serious social problems in the Mackenzie Delta.

Even, or especially, in Inuvik—the planned, 10-year-old Government-built showcase town—although unemployment is low, social discontent is widespread. Alcoholism, the scourge of most Indian settlements and some Eskimo communities, is the most obvious sign.

The Rev. Douglas Dittich, Inuvik's Anglican minister, has organized an all-day seminar on alcoholism for April 11. Inuvik also has a new drop-in center for natives who want to stop drinking.

"The natives," Mr. Dittich said in an interview in his cheery home filled with books, plants and three little children, "are in the wage economy but not of it. They are in a bewildering situation. There is a vast amount of activity, of change going on, which the natives can't grasp. We've pushed them down and made them feel small, that they don't have much to offer."

Mr. Dittich, who comes from Toronto and spent five years in the eastern Arctic before coming here two and a half years ago, said: "The people do have things to contribute. But they are inhibited from expressing themselves because they've been submerged by another culture. If you're a native you're unsure of every move you make because everyone else seems to know more than you do. The native employee is afraid to ask his boss questions because he'll feel stupid. So, he doesn't ask and he makes mistakes."

The cultural chasm can be seen in the housing arrangements of Inuvik. The whites live in the east end in houses and apartments served by a system that provides heat and water and carries off sewage. The smaller Eskimo houses in the west end are not served by this facility.

In Yellowknife, the capital of the Northwest Territories, and in Whitehorse, capital of the Yukon, local observers say that young Indians hate whites. They harbor "real bitterness and hostility," said Kenneth McKinnon, a 32-year-old political scientist and businessman who is an elected member of

the Yukon Territorial Council. Jean Dittich, the Inuvik minister's ebullient wife, believes "it's not a racial problem, it's a poverty problem. Essentially what you've got here are the social conditions you've got in any slum."

"There are two distinct social groups in the community and never the twain do meet," the Anglican clergyman said.

There is evidence that even among natives who are "making it" in the wage economy there is hostility toward whites. Among whites, casual, slighting remarks about the natives are not uncommon.

Rootlessness Results

The price of education and adaptability to the white man's ways may be a cultural rootlessness that contributes to what Mr. Dittich called the "fairly low" morale of most Inuvik natives. That assessment is shared by social workers.

Colin Amos, a toothless man who is 37 years old but looks

0 years older, is employed by the Government in a nonskilled job and has seven children. In his home the other evening, he explained that he cannot take his 16-year-old son trapping in winter because the lad is too busy with basketball and badminton in the high school gym.

Mr. Felix, who earns up to \$200 a month on piecework in the fur factory, said he gave away his dogs. "It was too hard to take care of them," he explained.

"By the time I was old enough to trap, about 6, I had to go to school," he said. "Trapping is like anything else. You have to grow up with it. I hunt but I don't trap, I'm not a very good shot either."

The less-educated Eskimos of the eastern Arctic, said Mrs. Dittich, have retained more of their traditional "self-reliance," but the western Arctic Eskimos "fit in better."

"So much of a person has to be lost to fit in," she said.

Natives' new fear in North: success, exploitation, pollution

APR 16 '70

Special to The Globe and Mail

INUVIK, NWT — Discovery of oil at Atkinson Point started more than just another oil rush, according to Agnes Semmler, a founder of the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE). It has caused fear among the native peoples of Canada's North—fear of exploitation, fear of pollution and fear of losing their livelihood and their way of life.

Also Eskimos and Indians feel they should have some original rights to the land, such as mineral and oil rights.

"The federal Government

doesn't recognize the rights of Eskimos or Metis," Mrs. Semmler says.

But the far northern native has been close enough to the white man to know the white man's wealth is of little value to him, and the white man's ways are not his ways.

"People here don't save money," Mrs. Semmler says, "and the companies don't give them much encouragement. They take them out for a couple of weeks on the job, give them a pay cheque and send them back to town for a week. They just blow their money then and go back broke."

"What we're worried about is that after they've finished all this exploration they'll just

pack up and leave our people worse off than before. We've got to stay here and make the best of it after all this oil rush is finished."

"That's why we can't let them pollute our Arctic. If the ocean gets polluted everyone will go on welfare. It's bad enough now."

"It's all shallow water around Atkinson Point, you know. If they start putting tankers into Atkinson Point and anything happens, our fur-bearing animals are finished. They all go to the water; they all hunt along the water's edge. It's useless to try to sell a fox with oil on its skin."

"It would finish the natives' food supply, too; all the seals, whales, fish and everything," she says.

Mrs. Semmler is concerned that many native people do not know anything about the treaties under which they allegedly gave away their rights. And she is determined that the natives will get something for the rights she feels they still have.

"The deal in Alaska gave some encouragement because they had no treaty in Alaska at all."

Alaska natives appear likely to get a \$500-million settlement, payable over 20 years plus a land settlement of 8 to 10 million acres, excluding oil and mineral rights. The Alaska Federation of Natives wants more, though. The federation wants the cash in eight years, along with title to 40 million acres and a 2 per cent royalty on mineral revenues.

Canadian natives have not made any such specific demands, but the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada has just completed a major study of native rights and more direct action is likely to follow.

Mrs. Semmler feels COPE is the key to action. Other organizations do not cover all native groups, so they cannot speak for them all.

"We're just getting organized. We don't even have our membership cards yet. If we can get the Northwest Territories organized—and that's a big job—we should be able to accomplish something."

Many northern residents are hoping the native people will be able to accomplish something through their organizations soon. If not, there is an uneasy fear of what might happen.

"Native resentment is growing in the North," Judge William Morrow of the NWT territorial court warned in a recent speech in Calgary. "We could have an Arctic version of Custer's last stand."

John Gasson, president of the NWT branch of the Indian-Eskimo Association, agrees with Judge Morrow's warning. "These people do have rights," he said in an interview at Yellowknife. "Their rights have never been taken away. No treaty was ever signed with the Eskimos. No war was ever fought, but there could be one yet."

Mr. Gasson, who is the Central Mortgage and Housing Corp. representative in the territories, says he sees increasing unrest among native people.

"Until now, the white man hasn't interfered too much with the Eskimo. But the Eskimo has seen what has happened to the Indian and Metis and now he is beginning to experience the same things."

"I don't think they would attempt force unless they exhausted all democratic attempts to be heard."

Judge in Northwest Territories Mediates Conflicts Between the White Man's Rules and Eskimo Ways

By EDWARD COWAN
Special to The New York Times

FORT McPHERSON, Northwest Territories, Canada, March 24—In the recreation room of a Distant Early Warning base on the shore of the Arctic Ocean, Justice William G. Morrow heard an Eskimo trapper testify in a civil suit in the morning.

In the afternoon the judge was 250 miles to the southwest in this Indian settlement on the Peel River, where he reviewed two assault sentences that had been handed down by local justices. He modified both.

More than anyone else in Canada's Northwest Territories, Justice Morrow mediates the conflicts between traditional Indian and Eskimo ways and the white man's rules. He has read much of what anthropologists have written about Canada's native peoples, and he has seen firsthand the upheaval that the white man's schools, jobs, houses, laws and alcohol—especially alcohol—have wrought among people who have lived off the land for thousands of years.

Justice Morrow acknowledges that he tends to be lenient when an Indian or an Eskimo stands before the bench. Friends of the judge feel that if he sat in an ordinary court he would be tougher.

On Circuit for Dozen Weeks

The seat of the Territorial court, of which Justice Morrow is the only judge, is in Yellowknife, the gold mining town that has been the capital of the continent-spanning Northwest Territories since 1967.

About a dozen weeks a year, he court goes on circuit to hear cases, nearly all criminal, from Baffin Island to the western Arctic. The court sits where it can—in a formal courtroom in Inuvik, in community meeting halls, hotel rooms, schoolrooms and even in the airplane, usually a DC-3, that carries the judge and his party.

The party generally includes the Crown's only prosecutor for the Northwest Territories, Orval J. Troy; the court clerk, Calvin Mains; the court reporter, Everett W. Tingley, and a lawyer or two from Yellowknife to represent defendants, usually as court-appointed counsel.

In larger communities, the party stays in hotels. In small settlements, they may be stationed for the night in church missions, the homes of civil servants and government offices and schools.

Carries Survival Kit

Bad flying weather may delay departure for hours or days. Justice Morrow, a solidly built, ruddy-checked man of 53 years, carries in his suitcase a makeshift survival kit—flares, a .22-

caliber pistol to kill small game, dry food, a hunting knife, a flashlight. He has not had to use them.

Justice is not always speedy in a jurisdiction of 1.3 million square miles with one judge and one magistrate. To minimize delays, Justice Morrow will hold court long into the night to dispose of cases. Or he will detour to a nearby settlement to try a man who has just been arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, rather than make him wait months for the court's next visit.

The sitting at the Bar 4 radar station here on Nicholson Peninsula set a precedent even for this unusual court. It was the first time Justice Morrow or his only predecessor, the late John H. Sissons, had held court at a DEW Line base. It also ended testimony in a case that began in 1967, the longest civil

proceeding in the court's history.

Justice Morrow, attired as always in black gown, sat at a card table.

The witness, a broad-shouldered 28-year-old Eskimo trapper, Wilbert Chicksi, was permitted to sit in a yellow-leather armchair rather than stand because the "courtroom" was so cramped.

The case, involving a claim by a trading company and a counter-claim by a trapper, reveals much about the everyday life and danger of the Far North.

Among the questions were whether the plaintiff, Tuk Traders, Ltd., had engaged the Eskimo trapper, Bill Cockney, on salary or on a commission basis to manage a trading post on the Anderson River.

Had Mr. Cockney been given

a two-way radio and an adequate medical kit as he said the company had promised? Was

Tuk Traders in any way responsible for the death of Mr. Cockney's 2-year-old daughter some days after she was run over by a dog sled? Was the fact that the accident happened during autumn freeze-up, when planes can land neither on floats nor skis, the reason the child was not flown out to a hospital?

The case has dragged on for so long because of the difficulty of getting the witnesses, the lawyers and the court in the same place at the same time. Mr. Chicksi, for example, has been out trapping white foxes this winter, and for a while nobody knew where he was.

Witness Waited a Week

As it turned out, he had been waiting a week at the radar station for the court, at the behest of the mounted police, and he did not disguise his disgruntlement. Taking judicial notice of the delay, Justice Morrow, with the consent of counsel, awarded the man a \$75 witness fee and smilingly added, "We hope you have a good season."

In Fort McPherson, Mr. Purdy represented two convicted men, and Mr. Troy argued against reducing their sentences.

In one of the appeals, Justice Morrow reduced a sentence of 30 days in the Inuvik Jail to 10 days in the local mounted police lock-up from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. daily plus probation of six months. "Go home at night and look after your dogs and consider yourself lucky," the judge admonished John Itsi, a 23-year-old Indian trapper.

Outside the courtroom, he commented, "The man is supporting his family now but if they go on welfare, they won't get off. I've seen it happen."

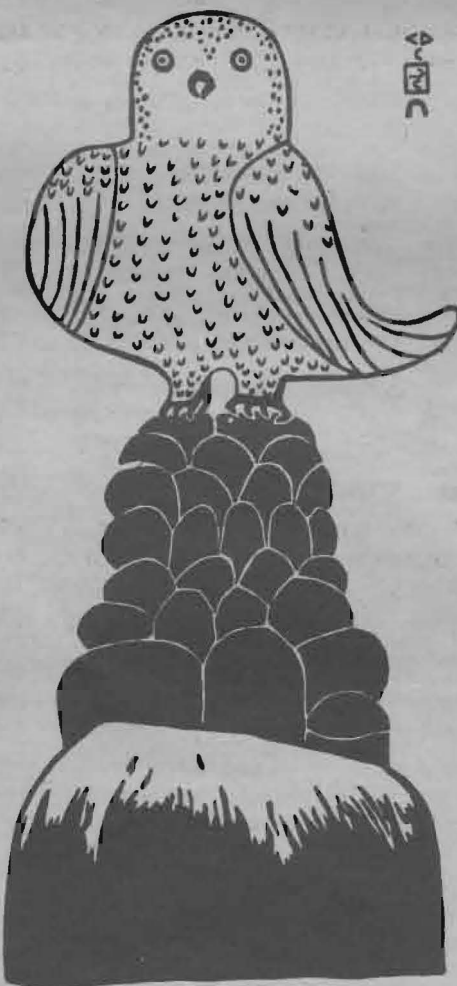
Leniency Irritates Police

Justice Morrow's leniency sometimes irritates the mounted police and Mr. Troy. They feel that in some cases he puts an undue burden on the prosecution.

Justice Morrow is very much in the tradition of Justice Sissons. In 1965, while still in private practice, Justice Morrow described that approach to the law in an article in *Queens Quarterly*, a Canadian law journal.

Justice Sissons, he wrote, "took on the chore of teaching civics and the administration of justice to the native population."

The task, Justice Morrow said, was to "apply the provisions of such statutes as the criminal code, with its language laying down a code of behavior for a more sophisticated society, to an area peopled for the most part by semi-nomadic hunters, just emerging from a stone age way of life."





BOREAL PRESS LTD APRIL 13, 1970 HAY RIVER, N.W.T.

DON TAYLOR

Publisher & Editor

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INDIAN LAND SOUGHT

Editor's OPEN HOUSE

Government plans to dislodge Indians from the east bank of the Hay River were confirmed last Tuesday night at a "public forum" arranged by the Town Council to discuss the development future of Hay River.

The meeting broke up prematurely because of a lack of information about planning activities and proposals. But before it did so it became evident that the council and senior government authorities were looking at the Indian land as the only suitable area for residential and industrial expansion.

The area would become "available" within two years as a result of "negotiations" with the Indians, the meeting was told.

The area to the south of the new subdivision had also been declared unsuitable for future development by officials of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

This left only the Indian land where, in the opinion of the authorities, services could be provided more easily and economically than elsewhere.

Hitherto it had been the opinion of the authorities that it would be technically or economically impossible to provide services to the Indians who reside there.

Other questions were turned aside with the reply that those matters were still being considered by Town Council's "committee of the whole," which keeps its meetings closed to the public.

At its *in camera* meetings council had "arrived at certain tentative conclusions" but these could not be divulged to the public, Mayor Don Stewart explained.

Discussion at the "forum" grinded to a halt after Mr. Robertson described the occasion as a "complete waste of time." He said the public could not comment or discuss the topic intelligently until the authorities revealed more information and disclosed the development posing

When white colonists first started settling this country the question might have been raised as to whether it would be better to adopt the language of those who already occupied the area, or to impose their language on the aboriginal peoples.

The latter alternative is an accomplished fact. However, it might be interesting to contemplate the situation we might face today if the former course had been followed.

In doing this it becomes necessary to accept as a premise the principles of Marshall McLuhan that the development of a people is controlled or limited by its modes of expression and communication—its spoken language, the written or printed word, radio, television, etc.

"The medium is the message," he says.

This might be explained by saying that it becomes impossible to promulgate any "message" or idea which the "medium" or means of expression is incapable of handling. If there are no words in a language to describe or convey some particular idea from one person to another, it becomes extremely difficult to spread that idea

Linguistic scholars have enumerated many of the deficiencies which existed in the native languages of Canada at the time of the white man's arrival. There were all sorts of ideas and concepts which the aboriginal people learned about from the white man which could not be expressed in their own tongue. One of the better known examples of this was the lack of words in the Eskimo language to describe dishonesty. Such a phenomenon had been sufficiently rare before traders, missionaries and government administrators came to live among them that the Eskimos had not needed to develop a word to describe falsehood.

Among Eskimos and various other native peoples wrongdoing was so rare that their language never evolved a means of describing the concept of punishment, let alone crime.

Now, where would this country be today if it had not established official languages which were fully capable of describing and passing along to future generations every possible kind of evil conduct, every shade of corruption and dishonesty, every delicious variety of immoral and dishonorable activity?

Without all these things how would our system of government get through a single day? Here in the north how would it get through a single minute? Impossible!

This is where the English language breaks down and demonstrates its shortcomings (and French is no better.) There is really no simple way of describing the functioning of government without making adequate provision for all the varieties of heinous behavior which the aboriginal languages did not allow for. Perhaps the Eskimos had a word to describe how the functions of government should be and in fact were performed. But we do not.

In light of the "normal" government activities to which they have become accustomed it is hardly surprising that people as ingenuous as the Slave Indians have had to forage about in other languages—notably English—to find words which adequately describe the treachery and dishonesty whereby they are being converted into doormats for the "Just Society."

by Don Taylor

The Territorial Government's Housing Education Program has apparently been creating problems for upper echelon bureaucrats.

Those who are employed in the program have been causing a good deal of embarrassment for administration with their remarks in radio and press interviews, as well as with their activities among the native peoples they are supposed to "educate."

It has been obvious from the start that these housing educators were sailing into troubled waters by going about their duties in a manner unacceptable to the brass. In Hay River, for example, the local housing education officer, Earl Dean, set up an office in the Old Indian Village and for a while even lived in the village.

This immediately put Housing Education at beam ends to most other government programs, which are generally set up to be as inconvenient as possible for those who are supposed to be served, particularly if they happen to be natives. (e.g. Game, Forestry, Welfare.)

It also appears that Housing Educators in other northern centres made similar mistakes by trying to get close to and communicate with the people who are supposed to be involved. Among other things, local people were hired to serve as educators.

This is not the way the administration likes things done at all, at all. The ideal method is to hire someone from Nova Scotia, Manitoba or Quebec and set them up in an exquisite office in Fort Smith or Yellowknife, well removed from the scene of the activity they are supposed to administer. Then they can, by flying about in charter aircraft, spend several hours a month conducting their programs in Hay River, Fort Simpson or where have you.

This technique provides the government officials concerned with an opportunity to dispense answers without the embarrassment of discovering what questions were being asked; of dishing out solutions without having to take the trouble to match these to the problems the public faces. And, of course, it minimizes the contamination which public servants might suffer from actually having to live among or associate socially with those whom they are "serving."

This contamination, resulting from actual contact with the public, produces a number of side effects which tend to discomfort and aggravate those in high places. The most distressing of these is that they become confronted with realities.

They are shaken awake from their technocratic day-dreaming to discover that their plans and schemes, which looked so magnificent on paper, have failed to pan out in actual practice.

This is well illustrated in the case of government housing activities.

Those basement walls looked so straight and smooth and sturdy in the architects blueprints. And so it is difficult to face up to the mangled rubble into which they will be twisted by the frost come spring, because some bright soul figured that Indian houses built on muskeg could do without reinforcing steel.

The rental scheme was such a masterpiece of mathematical precision that it becomes impossible to adjust to the realization that tenants are failing to pay their rent.

The housing program was such a model of perfection. So it becomes virtually impossible to accept the word that the people for whom it was designed don't want it, or find it far from satisfactory.

The houses are so grand to look at from the comfort of a cruising government vehicle. So it is difficult to believe that they are cramped and uncomfortable to live in.

Into this context were injected the housing educators, who were evidently supposed to indoctrinate their Indian pupils into a grateful appreciation for all that was being done for them by a wise and benevolent administration. They were sent to "teach," but they started to learn.

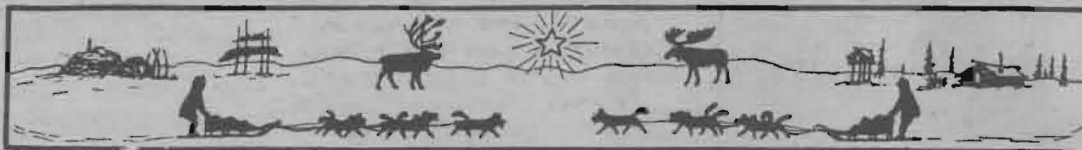
They became infected with a dangerous germ—truth—and thus are a menace to those in authority who remain cloistered in one of the isolation wards of the Arthur Laing Building.

They are looked on by their superiors as "trouble-makers"—a label applied to anyone who isn't fooled by the slick illusions their public relations people seek to create.

Inupiat Paitot People's Heritage

Den Nena Henash Our Land Speaks

Unanguq Tmuktauq The Aleuts Speak



Wednesday, April 22, 1970

Tlingit
Ut kah neek Informing and Reporting
HAIDA
Yaunk yawn sue
Speak the absolute truth

Fairbanks, Alaska

Copper River Natives Say Law System Discriminates

The Copper River Natives charged this week that the judicial and law enforcement systems in their area unfairly discriminate against them in favor of Caucasians.

In a statement of position mailed to the Tundra Times, the association wrote, "We cannot and will not take this sitting

down anymore. We demand equality and justice for our people."

After citing about 10 cases where they felt natives had been

treated unfairly, the group said, "My friends, white and non-white alike, the time is way overdue to correct the unwritten policy of our judicial and law enforcement

branch."

"Why are stronger measures and fines imposed on the Natives," they asked. "Why are whites not prosecuted to the same degree as the Natives."

We are dubbed as second class citizens by the White society all because we are brown, but we are a proud people."

"It is no doubt that this letter will inflame a lot of people, but that is what it is meant to do," the natives wrote.

Of the total estimated population of 2400 in the 16.5 million acre region, about 500 are natives.

The natives, many of whom are Indians, contend that it is the white society which controls the social and economic conditions in which they live.

Centered around Glenallen, Copper Center, and Gulkana, the association cited the following examples in their statement:

-In 1965, a Copper River Indian was shot and killed by a preacher who was found not guilty by the Glennallen Magistrate.

-An Eskimo living in Glennallen was killed by a pickup driven by a Caucasian, who, it was rumored, had been drinking. The man was not cited and no hearing was held.

-In March a native was hit and killed by a freight truck. The truckdriver, a Caucasian, was not cited.

-A young amiable Native of Tanacross was shot and killed by two City Police Officers in Anchorage. The Police Officers reported they shot in self defense."

-A Native of Copper Center was arrested in Anchorage on a drunk charge. "Upon entering the jail, Andrew was reported by the escorting officer to have fallen and injured his head seriously. How does a drunk person seriously injure themselves in a cell that is padded to protect the physical being of a highly intoxicated person," they asked.

A nine-year-old Gulkana boy was hit by a school bus and the driver was not cited and no hearing held to this date.

A nine-year-old boy was killed this year by a car driven by a white. No hearing has been held or scheduled.

The statement lists several other cases including a couple where Indians were derogatorily referred to as "drunks."

Furthermore, the people were urged in the paper to withdraw their support from the churches until they start "crying and hollering about these wrongs and bad situations being done in public."

Pt. Hope Bags Two Whales Says Source

A reliable source told Tundra Times that Billy Webber and Amos Lane and their whaling crews have caught two bowhead whales at Point Hope. This was probably during the last weekend.

Point Hope whalers started their annual whale hunt around April 15. The season will last until around the last week of May.

ASK FOR MORE LAND

Editorial—

Deplorable Stevens Village Confusion

The tiny Athabascan Indian community of Stevens Village is settling down to a comparatively serene composure after going through what can be called the sorriest riot of confusion a village can be made to go through. When it came to brass tacks, all Stevens Village wanted was the protection of its rights and fair compensation for the taking of the village's land.

The village, along with four other villages, Rampart, Bettles, Allakaket and Minto, early in February this year filed a suit against Trans Alaska Pipeline System and rescinded its earlier agreement with the oil combine for a right-of-way through the land under claims by the villages. In securing the right-of-way, TAPS promised the Tanana Chiefs Conference, of which the villages are members, and the DNH Development Corporation that it (TAPS) would contract jobs the DNH can handle on the pipeline project. DNH is a corporation of interior Indians set up to handle the contracts.

The promise turned out to be an empty one. Being a duly organized Indian village under the Indian Reorganization Administration, Stevens Village filed an injunction against the oil combine recently so the pipeline would not go through lands under claims without the village's consent. The suit was upheld by the U.S. District Judge George L. Hart, Jr. who imposed a temporary injunction against permits for pipeline construction.

As a result of the suit, Stevens Village and its people became villains overnight who were holding up the construction of the huge project. It is now a common knowledge that the village was not the real obstructionist but it was TAPS itself. The huge combine found, in all probability, that it had not done a thorough research effort on the permafrost filled Alaska terrain upon which a 160-180 degree heated pipe would go through. Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel is now saying that the villages were not the ones that were delaying the construction. It was the environment and lack of plans of engineering on the part of TAPS.

Tiny Stevens Village did become a scapegoat along with its lawyers from the Alaska Legal Services Corporation under its director William Jacobs. A legislator in Juneau, who represents the village, became involved asking why the people were in the act of stopping the pipeline construction. The State Attorney General's office got into the act and influenced the villagers to sign an affidavit to have the suit thrown out of court.

The action by the Attorney General's office in the Stevens Village affair is now being viewed as a breach of legal ethics because the Governor had been sued by the village. The state's top legal office represents the Governor and its officers are not supposed to be in line to confer directly to the villagers without consulting the attorneys for the village.

From here on in, we hope the people of Alaska will not view the people of Stevens Village as villains. All they have done was protecting their rights under the circumstances. Surely their suit against TAPS is not really a formidable one but one which could be settled with fairness exhibited by both sides, and with no meddling from the outside.

Ramsey Clark Advises Statewide Group It Has Solid Argument Basis

By SUSAN TAYLOR
Staff Writer

JUNEAU, (Special)—Delegates of the Alaska Federation of Natives are packing their bags and going back to Washington to ask for more land than has reportedly been provided by the land claims bill, and to request the continuation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public

health Service.

N.W.T. Teachers Urge Use of Eskimo Language

A resolution calling for a greater use of the Eskimo language in teaching Eskimo students was passed at the annual Northwest Territories Teachers Association early in 1970.

The association, meeting in Yellowknife, N.W.T., said that it "is to the cultural enrichment of all Canadians to preserve the Eskimo language as a working language."

It added that many basic concepts can be most readily presented to students in their native language.

Thus, the teacher's group asked that instruction to Eskimo students be given in the Eskimo language in the core areas of the primary grades accompanied by a strong emphasis on the English language. And, at the more advanced grade levels, the teachers said, Eskimo language instruction should be provided.

The association also asked that school instruction be provided as much as possible in a student's home settlement, that more adequate adult education materials be made readily available, and that Eskimo adults be encouraged to preserve traditional arts, crafts, and skills.

Pollution

Hah hoonee jee dux ut neeuh oowuh—Tlingit. "Buy from our friends."

Concerning the elimination of the BIA and the PHS the bill, according to Sen. Ted Stevens in a Saturday speech, does not eliminate the two but merely sets up the procedure whereby they can be eliminated when no longer needed.

The bill is designed to have their functions eventually assumed by a Native-run service corporation.

Several natives have expressed the belief that the elimination of

the BIA should be totally separate from the land-claims bill, which is to compensate natives for lands taken from them.

Speaking after the meeting John Borbridge, first vice-president of the AFN, explained that when the natives have in the past criticized the BIA, they have been saying that they don't want that particular control over their affairs, not that they don't want the services.

Reporting: Alaska

The Native of the Tundra Is the Forgotten American

by Pam Rubinstein

FAIRBANKS, Alaska—In the remote Eskimo village of Kotzebue, the old trading post is turning into a supermarket; elderly Eskimo ladies dressed in colorful full skirts and parkas browse in the aisles, deciding between Fab and Axion as if they had done it all their lives. In the village of Barrow, the most northerly settlement in the hemisphere, the whirrr of snow-go machines cuts through the Arctic stillness; the howl of sled dogs is becoming a sound of the past. In the coastal villages which still hunt the whale, walrus, and seal, outboard motors and rifles have replaced umiaks, kayaks, and harpoons.

And in the white man's towns of Alaska, Eskimos and Indians in a state of permanent alcoholic stupor have become fixtures on the rows of funky honky-tonk bars and go-go joints. The white man handles his secret guilt about the cultural genocide of the Natives (as the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts are collectively called) by treating the worst casualties as criminals. Day after day, Native alcoholics file in and out of court on charges of being "drunk in public." Their faces are impassive, their eyes averted; occasionally, one breaks into tears. The judge, lips pursed with slight distaste, lectures them as if he were dealing with hopeless, slightly perverted children.

Like their brothers in the "Lower 48," the Native peoples of Alaska have been devastated in the collision with white civilization. Even in the most inaccessible corners of the state, the white man's gadgets, his economics, and his low opinion of the Natives have taken over.

Yet one final humiliation has been spared Alaska's Natives. Unlike most American Indians, they have never been herded into reservations and have never signed away their ancestral lands. Today these lands have turned out to be rich with oil and minerals; naturally, the white man is eager to get his hands on them.

The result is a major battle over who owns America's last great wilderness—the Natives who roamed, hunted, and protected it for centuries or the white men who want to tame, settle, and pollute it. Ultimately, of course, the white man will tame, settle, and pollute Alaska. The only question is how much compensation the Natives will get. An absurd question. How much is the loss of the communal being and spirit of whole peoples worth? What can you give a hunter in return for his hunting grounds?

Nevertheless, the struggle for something resembling just compensation is vital to the Natives' future and survival as a people. The struggle itself is a sign of new life—never before have the Natives banded together against the white man. Historically, "the Eskimo and white got along because the Eskimo never asked for or got anything," explains Fred Notti, an Alaskan bush pilot who is part Native. "The Eskimos were considered when plans were being made, the same way you'd consider a dog and what he wanted." The same can be said of other Native groups.

Ironically, it was the coming of the oil industry that helped unite the Natives. When, in the early '60s, the Tyonek Indians

realized \$18 million from the sale of oil leases on their village lands, other Native groups quickly grasped that they, too, might be potential millionaires. At that time the state had already begun moving to take over Native areas. Well-versed in Indian history, the Natives realized they could just as easily end up homeless paupers.

So in 1966, they united. They filed thousands of protests against land leases and applications for leases. In what became known as the "Native Land Claims," 90 per cent of the lands of Alaska were claimed by the original inhabitants—the breathtaking mountains, the lush rain forests, and vast Arctic tundra that was once all theirs.

Actually, Native land rights have been an issue since the U. S. purchased Alaska for \$7 million in 1867. The sale was made, of course, without consulting the people whose futures were being traded. The treaty gave the U. S. control over Alaska, but not actual ownership of Native lands.

Fourteen years later, Congress passed the Organic Act in response to a clamor by whites who had discovered gold and wanted title to Alaskan lands. This act promised: "The Indians shall not be disturbed in the possession of any land actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them. But the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such land is reserved for future legislation by Congress."

Like so many promises to Indians, this one was never kept. Alaska's Natives were dispossessed of valuable lands because they were not eligible to receive a piece of paper—white man's title in fee. In a state of 375 million acres, the Natives today have title in fee to only 500 acres.

When Alaska became a state, the Great White Father once again paid lip service to the Natives' rights without resolving the issues. In the Statehood Act of 1958, the state disclaimed all rights and title to lands held by the Natives. At the same time, the state was promised 103 million acres of federal land. (The federal government claims to own 97 per cent of Alaska.)

Despite the state's disclaimer of ownership, it began moving to take over lands clearly used and occupied by Natives, and to claim royalties from federal oil and gas leases in tribal areas. The U. S. Bureau of Land Management, ignoring claims the Natives had on file and without deigning to notify the villages affected, began to process the state's claims.

The promise of an easier life which the white man seemed to offer has soured. The white man's main contribution to the Native has been despondency, a sense of dislocation, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many Natives still hunt and fish, but few can support themselves this way any more: many of the best hunting and fishing grounds have been destroyed by the white man, and many of the young have lost the old skills. Instead, they have been sent to BIA schools to learn skills for which there are no jobs. As wards of the civil servants in the BIA, Natives are the recipients of America's degrading and exploitative paternalism. For example, all Indians must have BIA permission to sell their land. At one point, the BIA embarked

on a plan to deport Alaskan Natives to the Lower 48 on the grounds that the Native population was "over-crowded." (Today there are 55,000 Natives in a state of 375 million acres, compared to an estimated 74,000 Natives when the Russians first arrived in the 1700s.)

Ironically, the land developers, the oil men, and the Anchorage Times may end up screwing themselves as well as the Natives. Alaska now holds a favored position with the federal government: she was granted 90 per cent of the royalty receipts from federal lands, because at statehood she had no economy to speak of; most states receive only 37½ per cent. Alaska's Senators Mike Gravel and Ted Stevens both agree that the 90 per cent cut is in danger of being reduced by Congress. They are urging Governor Miller to support the two per cent royalty for the Natives in hopes that this will persuade Congress to leave things as they are.

In any case, the Natives are hopeful that the Senate Interior Committee will act on the proposals in early spring. The bill must be out of committee by then to allow time for the spade work in the House, where the biggest problems are expected. The deadline for the final bill is the end of 1970—when Secretary Hickel will lift the land freeze. Working as counsel for the Natives to beat the deadline are two formidable establishment figures, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

A poor settlement or no settlement would drive the Natives to the courts—a route which they feel could take as much as a half a century and which would probably result in no land grants and a paltry money settlement. Equally important, some Native leaders fear it might crush the budding Native political movement—which has begun to awaken the Natives from their profound depression. The land battle has given the Natives "a new role... a new self-image," says John Borbridge, Jr., an Indian leader in Southern Alaska.

"The creation of the Federation of Natives changed the political face of Alaska," says Hensley. The Natives are now about 30 per cent of the voting population, and the last election sent six Natives to the State Legislature. In fact, Hickel was elected governor in 1966 partly by appealing to the Native vote.

The Native movement is adopting an increasingly militant tone. Last September, a group of Natives picketed the sale of oil leases on the North Slope. (A picket line may not sound like much to outsiders, but in Alaska, which still lives largely in the 19th century, it was a radical step.) The pickets passed out leaflets that read: "Today's lease sale is perpetration of economic genocide on a native minority." They also accused the Interior Department, Congress, and the state of "moving to cheat native people out of nearly all their land in return for a pittance—especially a pittance compared to what white men are paying each other on this one day for leases on a small part of the native land."

No matter what the final outcome of the land battle, a small minority of Natives have been permanently radicalized. "If there is no settlement, there will be trouble," predicts Fred Notti, a bush pilot. "Every village has one strong-willed person who sees action as the way out." Governor Miller may one day feel like Custer.

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RAMPARTS



[The Ecology of Oil]

AMONG THE LIVING ORGANISMS in Alaska which state officials would rather not think about are the native Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians, whose land the U.S. "bought" from Russia a century ago, and who still make up a sixth of Alaska's 272,000 population. According to the Statehood Act of 1958, 140 million acres of land were to be returned to the natives over a 25-year period. Years passed and the Alaskan native came to see clearly that the only way the white man could be made to live up to his 1958 "bargain" was through pressure. In 1966 the movement for native power coalesced into the Alaskan Federation of Natives, and their demands were formulated in the Alaska Native Land Claim bill.

In important respects, it was already too late. In 1964 the state, realizing that the North Slope was a potentially rich oil reserve, and that native pressure was mounting, applied to the Federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) for the two million acres lying along the arctic coast in the Prudhoe Bay vicinity.

Although the land was a traditional hunting and fishing ground for the Eskimos, the state application claimed that it was free of aboriginal use and occupancy. The BLM then proceeded to publish notice of the state's intent in *Jessens Weekly*, a small mimeographed newspaper with irregular circulation. Thus, as Alaskan journalist Jane Bender comments, "The burden of proof was placed upon people who could not be expected to untangle the legal phraseology, who might not even have seen the notice in the first place, and whose knowledge of the far reaching consequences of that simple small print notice might be said to be minute."

The North Slope case was typical; the attitude of most white Alaskans is little better than colonial. So it is not surprising that the native claims have suffered continual erosion in the hands of all levels of government. In the first compromise the natives settled for 80 million acres; they were then forced down to 40 million acres. Walter Hickel now suggests 27 million and the governor, Keith Miller, suggests 13 million acres—out of the total of 365 million in the state—3.6 per cent of the land for a sixth of the population, when rightfully they own it all.

It is safe to assume that the empires of oil will wield their vast power to delay a native settlement. For if significant portions of the state were in the hands of the natives, the oil combine would have to deal with them rather than the state, and they are potentially much less willing accomplices in the rape of the land—as evidenced by their picketing at the lease sale.

Continued rapid development such as that in Alaska can only work for the forces of exploitation and greed. Time must be had to examine and consider every aspect of the development process, to create a comprehensive democratically determined land use policy, to devise environmental regulatory agencies with adequate means of enforcement, to develop new forms of revenue sharing and community control over economic growth, to re-learn our inclinations toward nature and our relationship to people unlike ourselves. While this must happen in Alaska, it must also happen on a national and global level. For clearly the powers that shape the fate of Alaska are rooted in places far distant from that beautiful land.

We must slow down. We must come to enjoy the world gently, remembering that this fragile earth is more to be admired than used, more to be cherished than exploited. Alaska teaches us that there are men for whom this is impossible. They must be stopped. Not for their sake, but for ours.

Barry Weisberg



80,000 Years On This Continent

BARSTOW, Calif. (AP) — An archaeologist associated with the Calico digs says major breakthroughs in dating the arrival of man in North America have been made.

Ruth D. Simpson, project field director, said Thursday evidence of man dating back 80,000 years has been found at the California site. She said new techniques developed in the desert excavations may roll man's arrival date on this continent back even further.

New York Times 8 Feb. 70

Indian Traffic Case Taken to High Court

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7 (AP)—The Makah Indians have taken a traffic ticket to the Supreme Court.

The Makah tribe is asking the Court to declare that the state of Washington has no authority to enforce state traffic laws against members of the tribe for offenses committed on its reservation, at the northwest tip of the Olympic Peninsula.

The tribe contends tribally and federally built roads on trust land of the reservation are not public highways.

The dispute started Feb. 15, 1964, when a deputy sheriff for Clallam County, Wash., arrested a tribe member for driving without a license on the main street of the reservation village of Neah Bay.

The Indian was convicted but died while his case was on appeal. A second, similar incident occurred Jan. 25, 1965, and that case is now on approval to the high court.

COURIER-POST, Camden, N. J.,
May 9, 1970

2 Men Charged In 'Scalping'

HAYWARD, Calif. (UPI) — Two men will make a plea Monday on charges they scalped a long-haired hitchhiker.

Terry Leonard, a construction worker, and Donald P. Hickey, 24, were placed under \$2,000 bail Friday on charges they attacked James Christopher Huneke, 15-year-old high schooler, after offering him a ride Wednesday southeast of Oakland.

Police charged the two men told Huneke they felt he needed a haircut, then pulled out a hunting knife. Police said a two-inch slice of scalp was recovered.

INDIANS ON WARPATH

For the first time since the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, American Indians are openly fighting back against the government. For most of this century Indians adopted a stance of passive resistance. They remained in misery and despair on the reservations, or allowed the government to shunt them to urban slums for "employment opportunities." Most of all they bickered among themselves and with their warders from the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs. Now suddenly in Indian communities throughout the country, people are in open resistance, and there is the beginning of a movement which erases the old tribal feuding. That movement is new, tentative; and the future course is not clear. Its origin lies in the creation of the National Indian Youth Council. The Council brought together a group of young, militant Indians in the mid-1960s. The members of the Council helped to support the tribes in the Northwest, which were demanding that the treaties be honored and that they be permitted to fish for salmon on the Columbia River.

The movement spread from there. By last winter it had picked up real momentum.

Last November 100 Indians occupied Alcatraz Island, claiming it as their own under the terms of an old Sioux treaty. They have refused to compromise with the government, which wants to let them "use" the island; the Indians want full title.

Unsuccessful attempts were made to occupy Ellis Island, in New York harbor, and Fort Lawton in Washington state. But Indians in Stevens Village, Alaska, did succeed in getting a stop order from Judge George Hart, denying the Interior Dept. the right to run the oil pipeline and a road through the Village without the Indians' consent.

Smaller, less publicized actions have also been taking place. In Maine, the State Dept. of Indian Affairs decided to stop sending the free milk and medicine to the Pasamaquoddy Indians, as required in a 1794 treaty. The Pasamaquoddy, therefore, set up a roadblock along the part of US Route 1 that runs through their reservation (land for the road was originally taken from the Indians in the 1840s without compensation) and started collecting tolls. Within an hour, the police had arrived, the state capitulated, and the Indians got their milk and medicine.

The Pasamaquoddy are active on the legal front as well. In 1820, as part of the Missouri Compromise, Maine ceased to be a part of Massachusetts and became a separate state. At the time, Maine took over the treaty obligations with the Indians, although they never officially released Massachusetts from its obligations. Bit by bit, since 1820, Maine has been taking pieces of land away from the Indians, without any compensation. Since a Maine statute denies individuals the right to sue the state without the approval of the legislature, and since the Pasamaquoddy still recognize Massachusetts as responsible for the treaty, they are suing Massachusetts for the land and \$150 million. They expect to win the land and at least part of the money.

In Sandoval, New Mexico, Pueblo Indians comprise over half the school children in the district. There is only one Indian on the school board, and he was chosen not by Pueblos, but by the local Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Indians have decided not to send their children back to school until they are given more representation on the board. The action poses a serious threat to the non-Indian residents of the district because the federal government is paying the full educational costs of the Indians; thus, if half the students leave the school, the district will find itself without much money.

The Cree Indians on the Rocky Boy reservation in Montana grew weary of sending their kids to school 60 miles away in Havre. They also tired of attempting to persuade the all-white school board to end discrimination and include Indian cultural studies in the curriculum. They decided to form their own school district, encompassing the reservation, and with the help of the Superintendent of Schools succeeded; they expect funding from the US Office of Education.

The Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is technically responsible for the welfare of Indians, has become the target for much of the new Indian militancy. The action started in Littleton, Colorado. A class complaint charging massive discrimination against the 12 Indian employees of the Littleton BIA Division of Plant Management was filed against the Bureau. On March 18, 50 Indians, from various tribes, representing different inter-tribal organizations began a five-day occupation of the Littleton BIA Office demanding an end to the discriminatory practices, the removal of Louis Bruce as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the removal of the top three Littleton BIA officials, the filling of all top BIA posts with Indians, \$50,000 to investigate the BIA's adult vocational training and relocation programs, the abolition of the BIA Area Offices, and the contracting of BIA services to Indian organizations. On March 21, Commissioner Bruce arrived in Littleton and met with the Indians. He signed the anti-discrimination statement and the demand to fill the BIA posts with Indians, and he agreed to suspend the Littleton officials until an investigation was carried out. And finally, Bruce promised that there would be no arrests. But Charles McRea, the Chief of the Division and the first man suspended had other ideas. He called Interior Dept. Assistant Secretary Harrison Loesch in Washington and got Loesch to say that under civil service regulations Bruce did not have the authority to suspend anyone; therefore, McRea was still in office, and he ordered the arrest of nine Indians. Six more were arrested in the following days of picketing and occupation. The only demands Bruce was empowered to sign were those calling for his own resignation and the \$50,000 study. He did not sign them.

Supportive demonstrations were held the following week in

April 13-20, 1970

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Hard Times

Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Albuquerque, and Alameda. Ninety three Indians were arrested in three days of confrontations with local BIA officials.

The Littleton confrontation points up most clearly some of the contradictions raging within the Indian organizations, and makes it difficult to see exactly where they are going. They are caught in the web of the BIA, both hating it and needing it. They hate it because it has made them dependent on it, and they despise their dependence. Over half the Indians today live off the reservations, and they find themselves as uncomfortable when they return to the reservations as they do in the white man's world. Typical is their reaction to Commissioner Bruce, an Indian himself, and a Nixon appointee. They think of him as an "Uncle Tomahawk," yet they are afraid that if he resigns or is fired he will be the last Indian to be Commissioner. It will be too easy to point to him as an example of general Indian incompetency. The Littleton Indians demand that he be replaced by someone with the support of the six major national Indian organizations; yet the organizations themselves cannot agree on whether he should go, and they are unlikely to agree on a replacement.

The fight with the BIA has always been made on the BIA's own terms, limited to structural and personnel reforms. Even the Littleton demand that the Bureau contract out its services to the Indians implies the Indians' tacit acceptance of BIA's deciding what those services will be. BIA currently pushes two programs, which while seemingly contradictory, actually form a neat plan to drive the Indians mad and keep them in their underdeveloped place. The first program involves urban relocation. Indians are encouraged to leave the reservations with tantalizing offers of free vocational training in any city of their choice, free clothing, travel money, and the promise of lucrative jobs in the big city.

Part II of the plan involves what seems to be an attempt at Red Capitalism—the establishment of a \$5 million seed fund for reservation use in setting up small businesses and industries. The possibilities for screwing the Indians here are two-fold: Either all the intelligent, highly-motivated Indians will have already left the reservation, in which case white men will have to be called in to run things, or, feeling the frustration and despair of city life and seeing that the reservations might be getting a good thing, urban Indians will return to the reservations en masse, and thus compete with each other for the rather pitiful resources. In either case, the loser is clearly the Indian.

While it is difficult to discern a common strategy in the Indian resistance movement, in all likelihood it will come to focus on control of land. Seizure of land is essential to the government's genocide policy. And the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the instrument through which that policy is carried out. The Bureau employs numerous methods to ensure Indians do not gain control of land that is rightfully theirs. Here are some of them:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has the legal power to determine the nature of an Indian's assets. As a result the Bureau has allowed some states to treat Indian land as a disposable commodity, even though it denies the Indian himself the right to mortgage or sell his own land. Indians are often very poor and in due course apply for welfare; they discover they are not eligible because of their landholdings. The Bureau then assists the Indian in selling his land so that he may get welfare. But, once the land is sold welfare is denied because, according to the state, the Indian now is the recipient of proceeds from the land sale. Yet the Indian never has the proceeds from the land sale because the Bureau holds the money in trust for him, doling it out from time to time as the officials there see fit.

Indians often desire to will their ancient, sacred land to relatives. But the Bureau can step in, as it commonly does, to rule that the will is not "efficient," and therefore no good, or that the Indian has not made "adequate provision" for the heirs, and for that reason it is no good. Thereupon the land is thrown onto the open market to be purchased by the highest bidder.

The Bureau can rule Indians incompetent to handle their own affairs. Here's how that works out: In 1959, 27,000 acres of land owned by the Agua Caliente Indians of California were divided up in equal allotments to members of the tribe. But the land continued to be held in trust by the Bureau. The Bureau eventually shifted its trust responsibility to the state court, and the court appointed guardians to actually manage the land. The Indians complained bitterly at this. After nine years of complaining, the Interior Department began an investigation, and discovered that the court-appointed "guardians" had looted the land, draining off more than one third of the income in fees. The guardian fees awarded by one judge totaled 340 percent of total receipts from the land.

According to the numerous treaties signed by the Indians and the US government, tribes have the right to fish, hunt and harvest the land, all of which is part of a religious, ordained pattern of life, uniting man with nature. Land is not just useful to Indians. It is sacred. The government knows that taking away land not only denies space for community, but it directly attacks Indian culture.

And it pursues this course with gusto. In the state of Washington, the remaining, relatively small numbers of Indian tribes have insisted they have a right to fish for salmon on the Columbia River. They say it is their right under the treaty signed with the US. Since the US regards the Indian treaties as a laugh, nobody takes the claim seriously. When the Indians dared to exercise their right, Washington state set the police on the Indians. They teargassed them, beat them up, smashed their canoes and slashed the nets. State officials poor-mouth, claiming that the Indians deplete the salmon supply. But three quarters of the salmon catch goes to sports fishermen, who are encouraged by the state to take out as many salmon as they can get. Indeed, the state subsidizes sport fishing by building ladders at dams and trucking fish around the dams so the sportsmen can better catch them.

The Indian Claims Commission was formed in 1945 as part of the Justice Department, and it deals with Indian land disputes. It decides whether Indian claims are justified, and then whether the land will be given. This decision, which is almost always for money instead of land, must be approved by Congress. The Indians must then present a plan to the BIA explaining how the tribe intends to use the money. Negotiations often go on for years, while the Indian money sits in the US treasury earning no interest. Acceptable plans usually include dividing up the money among the tribe's members, setting up scholarship funds, and even developing industries, as long as the BIA maintains control; this is easily accomplished by suggesting that the new enterprise will need BIA lawyers, monitors, advisors, etc., all of whose salaries are deducted from the Indian settlement.

But there are also cases where the BIA does not approve the plans. The Walker River Paiutes of Nevada received a cash settlement for their lands, and wanted to invest the money in a cattle ranch. The Paiutes had land and they had experience, for they had been working for years on white owned cattle ranches. That was their undoing. The whites would no longer be able to get the cheap labor to which they were accustomed, and they might even have some competition. The BIA rejected the Paiute plan.

The Taos Indians of New Mexico are now involved in a similar struggle. They are requesting the return of Blue Lake, a heavily wooded area which is a sacred shrine to them. Clinton Anderson, New Mexico's senior Senator, is a lumberman himself, and is trying to convince the Indians to settle for cash; he is afraid the Indians will cut down the trees and go into business. He doesn't seem impressed by the Indians' claim that they want the land because it is sacred to them.

The procedure ensures that justice of a sort is done but that the Indians are never in a position to have an impact either economic or political on the areas in which they live.

About a year ago when Indians were fashionable, the liberals cooed at them, and promised to reform the reservations. Teddy Kennedy, who had assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Labor Subcommittee on Indian Education after his brother's death, traveled to Alaska, and made investigations into Indian conditions. Traditionally management of Indian affairs is vested in the interior committees of Congress. When Robert Kennedy died, Senator Jackson, who heads the Interior Committee, made a deal with Teddy whereby he would let the Kennedy family have the education subcommittee for up to six months, providing that after that time Teddy would drop the subcommittee and move

background on events

on to other things. Kennedy wrung two extensions from Jackson, and kept the committee alive until November, 1969. He finally let it go because Senate liberals told Kennedy his insistence might ruin the chances of getting an extension for George McGovern's select committee on hunger. Hunger had replaced the red man as a cause. Now Kennedy and other liberals are pushing for a White House Conference on Indians, which would imitate the popular hunger conference held last winter. The Indians could pow wow for three days, get drunk and go home. Thus, any sort of attempt at token reform seems to be dead. One of the main hopes for a change lay in the Citizens Advocacy Center's lengthy study of Indian life. The study, directed by Edgar Cahn, was published last fall in book form—"Our Brother's Keeper"—and it provides a useful guide for resistance. Originally the idea was for the center to dredge up muck about Indian life, shunt it along to Kennedy's subcommittee for investigation and in that way bring on reform of Indian life. That came to nothing, and the Cahn group broke up.

The problem is that liberals wanted to "reform" Indian policy by "developing" Indian communities. The Kennedy idea for improving an Indian community was to create a community development corporation, and in imitation of the AID program, begin a "turn-key" deal. Under that sort of scheme, large corporations would be financed by the government to come on reservations and begin business enterprises. That process would hasten Indian acculturation into white society.

To the Indians, acculturation is death. They have fought it for centuries. In the last century, Indians fought for a right to their own existence across the Great Plains, and through the mountains of the West. For most of this century, they fought acculturation passively on reservations and in the city slums. White radicals talk about discovering that fighting is a way of life. For centuries the Indian has known no other way. He must fight or die. Now his struggle enters a new phase.

—Ginny Berson



—Herald Staff Photo by MARLIN LEVISON

... Audra Pambrun discusses Blackfoot suicides

'Most Involved Nurse'

Miami Beach, May 5 (AP)—Young Indians try to kill themselves, says a Blackfoot nurse, because they have nobody to emulate.

"We have no doctors or lawyers," she says.

So the 41-year-old nurse, Miss Audra Pambrun, decided to do something for the Blackfoot teen-agers on her Montana reservation. She established a suicide crisis center.

And for that she was honored today by the American Nurses' Association with a \$2,000 award.

It Won't Be Wasted

"Half of it will go to the center," she said. "There are many needs for it; it won't be wasted."

Miss Pambrun is director of community health aides for the

Office of Economic Opportunity's community action center in Browning, Mont., near Glacier National Park. It's her job to see the 7,000 Blackfoot on the reservation have proper health care and live in decent conditions.

To cope with a serious suicide problem, she established the crisis center—first of its kind in Montana—last May 8.

"Since then," she said, "we've had 140 calls and 2 deaths... a 17-year-old boy and a 29-year-old woman."

Problem Of Frustration

The center, located on the reservation, is open 24 hours a day and is aimed especially at the 15 to 17 age group. "That's the crucial age... when they real-

ize, they aren't going to reach their goals," Miss Pambrun said in an interview.

Young Indians kill themselves, she said, because they become tremendously frustrated with their lives and the lives of their parents, many of whom have drinking problems.

Despite this widespread frustration, she said, most of the youths have no desire to leave the reservation and migrate to what she calls "the mainstream of life in this country."

"On the reservation, the feeling I get from non-Indians is we're a threat. They want to keep us under their thumb and manipulate us. I refuse to be manipulated."



A long time ago the Navajo People must really have been a free and sovereign people. The stories of the past are happy ones. But when we tell these stories today, they do not make us happy. For those who still tell and hear these stories, they tell of all that the Navajo People are losing. If a person goes to a BIA Boarding School on a Sunday, he will learn that every single child goes to some type of Christian Church. Have the Navajo Gods died? Are they not as good as the Christian God? When you go to a meeting of Navajo young people, you will find that they can talk to each other better in the English language than they can in Navajo. Isn't our language good enough? We are given all kinds of programs and plans to help us from the United States Government. Many of the directors of these programs are Anglo. Are we not good enough to handle our own programs?

The Anglos have created a sandstorm among our Navajo People with their schools, their language, their laws and their God. In this sandstorm we are losing our way on the Pollen Path. Our leaders do not seem to realize this. Perhaps they are the ones most blinded by the sandstorm. Our leaders fight for legal sovereignty, but they seem to have forgotten that we must be free and sovereign in our feeling too. The Navajo People do not feel that their religion and their language are as good as the language and the religion of the Anglo. It seems that our leaders should be concerned with this type of sovereignty too. Many of the Navajo People are afraid of the Anglo traders who own the stores. The traders assault the people, charge high prices, and dominate the people and nobody is willing to ask for change.

The Navajo People are no longer a brave people. Under the long domination of the Anglos they have become a submissive and unquestioning people. It is no wonder that we have our problem with alcohol and that many Navajos do not have enough to eat and live in unhealthy shelters. If we were a free people we might solve some of our problems, but if we continue to allow ourselves to be dominated by the Anglos, if we go on feeling that we are not as good as Anglos, all our problems will remain. Our poverty of spirit will perpetuate our material poverty.

Dine Bas-hafi, General Delivery,
Crownpoint, New Mexico 87313.

--Michael Benson

BY JULIE MORRIS and
EDWARD SHANAHAN
Free Press Staff Writers

Why Michigan²⁴ Indians

PESHAWBESTOWN — Dressed in jeans, cowboy boots and dark glasses, Ted Holappa carries his six-foot-two frame with a frontier swagger.

Stuck in his straw hat is a white eagle feather. His uncle gave it to him. Folklore says it will keep him safe.

Holappa is one of Michigan's Indians who has assumed an activist role in attempting to help his people.

FOR THREE MONTHS, Holappa, a 25-year-old Chippewa, has been crossing the state talking to Indians on the reservation and off, listening to their grievances.

His findings will be the basis of a report to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission on how the commission can be more involved with the problems of the state's Indian population.

When that report is issued in a few months, he will return home to L'Anse reservation. He does not know what he will do for a living. But he is wedded to the reservation.

In the white man's world, "You go through life as an individual," he explains. "The Indian moves through life as a tribe. I like that."

Home is a shack near his parents' house on the reservation. His sister also lives there.

He never left the security of the reservation until he was 18. He wanted to see what the outside world was like. He attended college in Washington and later was graduated from the University of Wisconsin.

Like other young Indians, Holappa fears that Michigan's Indian culture is slipping away. Even though he grew up on the reservation, neither he nor his parents can speak Indian.

Indian crafts are dying out, he says, because white people won't pay the true cost of traditional Indian work. They prefer the cheap, Hong Kong produced items.

According to Holappa, this country "is afraid of people being different." Historically, he says, that is what has been behind the white pressure on Indians to assimilate, to join the mainstream.

The existence of Indian reservations and isolated Indian communities, he says, are a reminder that "a stubborn few" are holding out.

He and other Indian power advocates are adamantly opposed to ending the reservation system.

"You may have conquered the land, but not the people," he says.

His idea of Indian power is to nurture Indian communities "where people don't have to live in poverty, where jobs are available, where Indians get a decent, relevant education."

"White people have come close to destroying the Indian in Michigan as a people, as a tribe and as a culture," says Holappa.

"We don't demonstrate. At least we haven't yet. But we want to be recognized and not just pushed around," explains Chief Fred Dakota, who wears a pink and black Indian Power button.

The emerging red power movement among the Indians is now focused on the state Commission on Indian Affairs.

The director of the commission is 70-year-old Herman Cameron, who says he is five-eighths Chippewa, one-fourth Scotch and one-eighth English. He is paid a yearly salary of \$9,000. The commission's only other fulltime employee is Cameron's secretary, a white woman who is paid \$5,700 to run the commission's office at Sault Ste. Marie.

The 11 commissioners, whose average age is 50, are given \$2,500 a year to cover traveling and other expenses.

They are political appointees, picked by the governor to serve four year terms.

The commission spends about \$1.15 per Indian per year, a total of \$23,000. But 75 cents of every dollar must go for the commission's administrative costs. Only 25 cents of each dollar could ever reach any Indian directly.

The Indians want the white neighbors on the State Commission on Indian Affairs thrown out of office along with the Indian commissioners who are "red apples," that is, red on the outside but white on the inside.

They also want the white man's government to begin obeying an 1843 treaty which gave them the right to hunt and fish in the state without a license. More importantly, they are striving to end the centuries of discrimination by the white "chimoos," the Indian equivalent of honky.

THE REVOLT BEGAN with the Inter-Tribal Council, an organization of the state's four tribal chiefs, headed by Chief A. B. LeBlanc.

The council was set up by the commission in 1963 to act as a coordinating body to help Michigan Indians organize themselves.

Now the council has its creator on the run.

"I don't want to say we've created a monster, but the commission had the primary role of bringing about the council and of course this is the principal source of our opposition," admits William A. LeBlanc who is also the first cousin of A. B. LeBlanc.

The Inter-Tribal Council so far has won over three of the six Indian commissioners. The three assess the commission's accomplishments as "exactly nothing."

Mark (Kelly) Perrault, 37, a square-built community organizer — is the youngest commissioner. He accuses the commission of using an "old clothes approach" to Indian problems.

"They brag about having delivered five tons of used clothing to Indians and think this takes care of the needs," he says.

"The way people are treated in this state right now makes you sick to your stomach. What the hell kind of society are we living in where if anything is left over it's given to the Indian."

Another angry commissioner, John R. Winchester, charges that the state's Indians have "lost out on eight or 10 attempts to get industry started on or near the reservations" because of the commission's general ineptness and lack of concern.

The third is Ben Quigno, a Mt. Pleasant representative with the Indian Community Action Progress.

"Most of the commissioners don't want to be identified with people living without water or toilets or lights," says commissioner Perrault.

Behind the militancy are only about 100 young Indians but they are making themselves heard.

They are demanding the ouster of the five white commission members, plus Cameron and commission chairman William A. LeBlanc, a 47-year-old Detroit insurance executive. Like Cameron, LeBlanc is Chippewa.

In addition, the Indians say Cameron and LeBlanc have little idea what is happening in the Indian community, do not understand or appreciate the principles of self-determination.

TED HOLAPPA:

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commission that is an arm of the state government, I think it is absolutely necessary to maintain a good solid communication with the white world and the white-controlled government."

White commission member Arthur Thayer, 44, Grayling elementary school principal, angrily declares that he would resign if he felt he wasn't serving Indians. "But the color of my skin, which I had no control over, will never be the reason for my resignation."

ON ANOTHER FRONT, Father John Hascall, a 28-year-old Catholic missionary and also an Indian, is trying to persuade the church to turn over a 50-room friary to the Indians of Baraga and L'Anse.

He also hopes to learn enough Indian to be able to say the mass in his native language.

Winchester, the militant commission member, is recruiting Indian high school students for Michigan State University. He also has met with President Robben Fleming of the University of Michigan to press the case for more Indian admissions.

On the Mt. Pleasant reservation, the tribal council is angrily demanding that the federal Indian Health Service provide more medical help in the wake of a tuberculosis outbreak.

MT. PLEASANT — Broadway here is a road going nowhere.

From town, it unravels east for three miles through the flat lands of the Chippewa reservation, past tiny wooden frame houses and clusters of mailboxes. It deadends at a broken-down fence and someone's front yard.

There is no glitter or glamor on this Broadway, the only paved and lighted street in the entire 1,200-acre reservation where 400 of Michigan's first people live.

No signs, flags or gales tell a visitor he is on an Indian reservation. The four in Michigan, all located in isolated rural areas, are nondescript

Walter Chamberlain's house, a two-room, white frame shack, seems to be held together by tar paper and the debris leaning against the side.

FIRE GUTTED the Chamberlain house in 1949 on the same lot. Friends helped throw together a temporary house nearby.

Chamberlain, who has straight black hair and classic Indian features, says he has always lived on the reservation. He knows he is poor but says he doesn't know what he can do about it.

Like hundreds of Indians in Michigan, the Chamberlains live simply, almost primitively.

They can count on only \$45 a month in public assistance. Walter makes do on this plus weaving baskets during the summer and other odd jobs. He says his poor health plus no transportation prevent him from holding a full-time job.

Through changes in government land policy and land speculation, the reservations now resemble checkerboards with Indian-owned land and white land jumbled together.

"We don't ask any more because we're tired of being refused over and over and over," says the wife of one Indian leader in Mt. Pleasant.

Most rural and reservation Indians earn less than \$1,500 a year, and in some cases half that, because of seasonal employment, says commission chairman William LeBlanc.

In the northern Michigan community of Kewadin, it is remarkable that the life expectancy of the Wilson children is as long as it is.

Fifteen people — adults and children spanning three generations — live in one three-room house as part of a six-family Indian mission run by the Methodist Church.

The mission is almost isolated. A visitor would never find it without an Indian guide.

Everywhere children with sniffles and cranky dispositions poke from doorways. Outdoors sit like stovepipe hats in the early spring snow. One water pump in a nearby wooded grove serves all six

YOU CAN'T talk sanitation or housing or family planning or anything else to somebody who's living in squalor," says one well-off Petoskey Indian.

"You can't say bathe when you have to walk a mile and get the water to do it. After you walk a mile for water, you don't want to bathe in it. You want to drink it."

Of course, a number of rural Indians are relatively well off.

Many well-maintained frame houses dot the reservations in Mt. Pleasant, L'Anse and Bay Mills, their occupants toiling quietly to make ends meet.

Some work in factories such as Dow Corning in Midland or Celotex in L'Anse. Others are laborers in saw mills or work as truck drivers or hold down part-time jobs in resort areas.

But traveling around the state, a visitor is jarred by the degree and range of Indian poverty.

IT IS unsettling to a city dweller, when contrasted with the beauty and peace of the surrounding landscape.

Often, very poor Indians live cheek by jowl with rich whites in such resort towns as Harbor Springs and Northport.

More than 100 Indians in the village of Peshawbestown, north of Traverse City, almost seem to be re-enacting the 18th century.

About five miles from Peshawbestown is the amiable resort town of Leland, a picture postcard all-white summer retreat lying between Lake Michigan and Lake Leelanau.

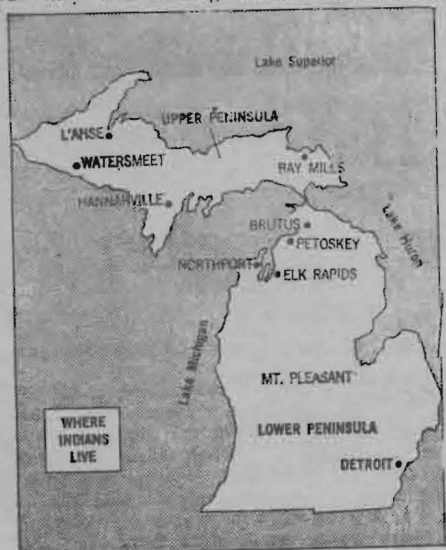
Even when help is given to the Indians, whites somehow manage to bungle it.

A few years ago, the Mt. Pleasant Housing Authority built 20 units of public housing on the reservation about 100 yards from the crumbling shack of Walter Chamberlain and his brother.

The units were apartments rather than single-family homes. At first, no Indians would move into the new dwellings.

Chamberlain, living as marginally as any Indian in Michigan, was given a crack at a unit in the development. He refused flatly.

"Mark (Kelly) Perrault, 37, the youngest commissioner, accuses the commission of using an 'old clothes approach' to Indian problems. 'They brag about having delivered five tons of used clothing to Indians and think this takes care of the needs.'"



Broken Treaties, Broken Shanties, White Scorn

Grow Militant 25 U.P. Indians dare arrest for fishing

Between 3,000 and 5,000 Indians live in Detroit and its suburbs. About one out of every three is poor.

Sources disagree on the exact Indian population because urban Indians have not been counted as Indians in past U.S. censuses and because Indians in the city are much more a part of white society than rural Indians.

"There are an awful lot of Indians around the city, but many of them aren't active as Indians," says Hannah Aikens, a white-haired, grandmotherly Delaware who is a longtime fixture in the Detroit Indian community.

"They just sink into the neighborhoods and in many cases nobody even knows they are Indians."

THE ONLY distinctly Indian neighborhood in Detroit is the

Third to Woodward, Temple to Warren area where between 200 and 400 poor Indians live alongside poor whites, poor blacks and poor Mexican-Americans.

George McMahon, a young white school-community agent at Burton Elementary School, 3420 Cass, says the Indians in the Third St. area can be divided into three groups.

"There are a few of the single Indian men who come to town, make a few dollars and then go back home. Then there are people who are just waiting to get out to other parts of the city, and there is a hard core of Indians who just seem to stay forever."

"I've seen some of the same Indian faces in the parks and on the streets for what seems like years."

Russ Wright, a Cherokee who is a Detroit Social worker, says Indians have been migrating to Detroit since the late 1920s.

Some feel they are better off in the city than they would be on reservations. Some became homesick and return to the reservations.

"The urban Indian is at least as bad off as the reservation Indian in some instances because there are quite a number of Indians in Detroit who haven't found employment and evidently haven't adjusted to urban life," Wright said.

"These are the 30 percent of Detroit's Indians who are poor. The rest are working people — truck drivers, land-workers, barbers, tree surgeons — and they're making out."

THE SUNDAY NEWS—Detroit, April 26, 1970

By LUISE LEISMER
News Staff Writer

L'ANSE, Mich.—A strange game is played almost daily in the woods of Baraga County in the sparsely populated northwest tip of Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

The challengers are several hundred Indians from the nearby L'Anse reservation who are armed with guns, fishing poles and nets — but no hunting or fishing licenses.

They want to be arrested. Their opponents are officers of the State Department of Natural Resources district office at Baraga whose sworn duty is to uphold state hunting and fishing laws.

But the state men have orders to avoid conflict and "keep the lid on." They refuse to arrest the Indians and the Indians are "damned mad about it," according to Mark Perrault, a L'Anse Chippewa.

For two years, he has refused to buy state hunting and fishing licenses and has urged his friends to do the same on the grounds that the State of Michigan is depriving them of federal treaty rights.

"I have called the conservation department office and told them that I was going hunting or fishing with my friends and that none of us had a license," Perrault said. "I've told them the exact time and location and asked what they were going to do about it. But they won't come and arrest us."

It has become a sort of ridiculous game of hide and seek, with the conservation men doing the hiding, another Indian said.

Hugh J. Fisher, district law supervisor for the Baraga area, said:

"We've got the Indians goading us to arrest them on one hand and local citizens calling up demanding that we do something about them on the other. But our orders are to play it cool until several test cases already in the courts are settled."

The current policy, he said is to permit Indians to hunt and fish on their reservation lands without benefit of license, but to arrest them if they are caught outside.

The L'Anse reservation includes 14,000 acres, scattered over a large area and difficult to police because there are no fences marking Indian land borders.

The Jondreau case involves the 1965 arrest of William Jondreau, a L'Anse Chippewa tribal leader, for illegal possession of trout taken from Lake Superior.

As a defense, Jondreau claimed the Indians were given unlimited hunting and fishing rights on land ceded by the tribe to the United States in treaties in 1840 and 1854.

The land includes most of the Upper Peninsula, and all of Baraga County where Jondreau was arrested. The court said the issue in the case was whether an Indian on non-tribal land was subject to state conservation laws, and ruled that he was. The State Court of Appeals upheld the conviction and the case is now before the Supreme Court.

Fisher said a decision is expected later this month.

Several hundred miles to the east, Indians on the 2,000-acre Bay Mills reservation near Brimley also have some complaints against the conservation department.

"There is no reluctance on their part to arrest the Indians here," said Albert (Big Abe) LeBlanc, a 6-foot, 4-inch Chippewa.

LeBLANC is chairman of the Bay Mills Tribal Council and the Michigan Inter-Tribal Councils, which represents all Indians who reside on the four reservations located in the state.

"Our treaties guaranteed us hunting and fishing rights forever, on reservation land and ceded land," LeBlanc said. "How can we have fishing rights on dry land? Yet the state says we don't have the right to go out into Lake Superior without a license?"

H. Ranson Hill, district law supervisor for the Bay Mills area, said the State Department of Natural Resources is expecting the Indians to attempt to bring about more test cases this spring, because of a new state law which will cut down on the number of Great Lakes commercial fishing licenses issued. Many Indians engage in commercial fishing.

IF INDIANS are caught fishing on the Great Lakes without proper state licenses, they will be arrested, Hill said.

Red Ghetto Awaits Indians Looking for Success in City

MT. PLEASANT—The three members of the federal Indian Health Service looked uncomfortable in their snappy blue uniforms, the gold braid and brass buttons.

They also looked out of place. It was nearly 9 p.m. and the sparsely furnished community center was cold.

Brooding angrily over in the corner was Mark Perrault, a stocky, 37-year-old Chippewa who runs the small statewide Indian anti-poverty program. He did not like the federal people — he does not think they do enough — and he was spoiling for a confrontation.

THE OCCASION was a meeting of the Mt. Pleasant reservation tribal council, which was convened to talk about the need for more federal funds for Indian health care on the reservation.

A few weeks earlier, seven Indians were hospitalized with suspected cases of tuberculosis.

The three federal officials, based in Wisconsin and led by Dr. George Browning, were making a regular tour of Michigan's four state-owned reservations.

Suddenly, Perrault turned toward the visitors.

"You don't want to hear about our problems," he snapped at Browning, who was trying to warm himself near the kerosene stove, "because you aren't doing your job."

Browning replied that state and county health officials claim they don't need federal help in meeting the health needs of Michigan's Indians. In any case, he said, his agency is hamstrung.

"We don't mint the money," he explained.

TO PERRAULT and Ben Quigno, another Indian leader present, Browning's answer meant something else. They saw it not as an explanation of bureaucratic ineptitude but as another example of the white man's bias against Indians.

And, although most young Indians disagree, some whites maintain the only social solution is to abolish reservations entirely and force the Indians to adopt the white man's ways.

One Mt. Pleasant white man familiar with Indian problems said: "As long as we operate a system of paternalism, as long as we maintain reservations, we are going to have the situation we have today and it is not a good one."

"The only answer," he said, "is assimilation with the white man."

Younger Indians are making anti-assimilation a rallying cry around which they are organizing their rights movement.

Basically, says Father John Hascall, a missionary in Baraga, most Indians would prefer to live on reservations if life could be made tolerable there, even those Indians who have moved to the cities.

"Our people sure as hell don't want to become white men," says John R. Winchester, an Indian who recruits for Michigan State University. He is a foe of breaking up the reservations even though he has never lived on one.

The Indians talk repeatedly about prejudice. They say it is found at an age. The most dangerous kind, they say, is Indian children being harassed and called names by whites in school.

Indian leaders claim that this has already forced thousands of Indians to drop out of school, leaving them ill-equipped to compete in the white world.

Mrs. Jean Pego of the Mt. Pleasant reservation recalls that one of her youngsters regularly was called "dummy"

and was made fun of by his first-grade teacher. Indian children often are the target of abuse on the school bus too, she said. They are regularly called "redskin" or "squaw."

PERRAULT and Father Hascall know of cases where seven-year-old Indians have been stood up in front of the class and identified by the teacher as Indians whose tuition is paid by the federal government.

Young Indians very early in life want out of school, they said.

"Indian parents," says Ted Holappa, a 25-year-old college educated Indian, "don't want to put their kids through these kinds of situations. So they do not encourage their kids to stay in school."

THE EXTENT of the Indian dropout problem is hard to determine. Winchester and others claim that as many as 85 percent of the children in some Indian communities don't graduate from high school.

Michigan's First People



TWO-YEAR-OLD DOUG Wilson plays in front of the home he shares with 14 others in Kewadin (Mich.) Many of Michigan's Indians live in

stark poverty. Children like Doug face an uncertain future. A survey shows 78 percent of state's Indians have serious health problems.

Free Press Photos by IRA ROSENBERG

The Indian of today in Michigan is a full citizen, living at peace with his white neighbor in a land they both call home.
—Michigan Historical Commission, 1961

Indians of the Southeast — 26

White Man's Record Makes Indians Wary

By HAROLD KENNEDY

Atlanta Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

CHEROKEE, N.C.—More than 6,000 Cherokee Indians huddle here in the Appalachians, descendants of refugees from a cruel Trail of Tears 130 years ago.

They are the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and they are wedged between proud tribal traditions and the long-re-



PRIDE AND PATHOS

sisted white man's culture which contains for them elements of salvation and hell.

And they are not alone. Original Southerners dot the map of the Southeastern United States.

JUST WEST OF Florida's glittering Atlantic coastline, nearly 2,000 Seminoles—descendants of Georgia's Creek Indian Confederation—and 500 Miccosukees eke out a living in the Everglades. Ironically, the great swamp once shielded Florida Indians from efforts by the entire U.S. military to ship them to Oklahoma. Now it helps isolate them from the 20th century.

In the hills outside Philadelphia, Miss., where three civil rights workers were murdered in 1964, are more than 3,000 Choctaws. Their ancestors first tasted white encroachment when Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto came through 450 years ago.

THOUSANDS OF other Indians live in the South. North Carolina counts roughly 32,000 Indians besides Cherokees, mostly Lumbee River Indians around Robeson County.

South Carolina counts more than 1,000 Crowtaws and Catwabs. Tennessee numbers some 633 Cherokees and Milungeons.

And Georgia, which did its best to purge itself of Indians during the middle third of the 19th century, still numbers 749 citizens of Cherokee descent. Most of them make their home in Burke County's Shell Bluff Landing across the border from South Carolina.

But only the Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, and Miccosukees are still organized tribes, maintaining ancient customs and languages. Only they live on land officially designated as Indian land. And only they receive aid from the U.S. Department of the Interior's widely criticized Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

THE OTHERS, Lumbees, Crowtaws, Catwabs, and so on, live among whites and blacks. They have deserted to a large extent their tribal organizations, traditions and languages in an

effort to succeed in the white man's world. Many have been only partially successful, others have failed entirely and rely heavily upon federal and state poverty programs.

Reservation Indians look upon those who have forsaken their tribal life styles as inferior, not worthy of "Indian-ness."

On reservations, mostly isolated and rural, tribal ways continue to flourish. Seventy-five per cent of the Seminoles and Miccosukees speak their native languages fluently. Ninety per cent of the Choctaws and many Cherokees do also.

In the spring, Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, and Miccosukees celebrate the season with the week-long Green Corn Dance ceremony.

IN FLORIDA, most Seminoles and Miccosukees live on or near four reservations totaling nearly 80,000 acres. Three of them are surrounded by swamp and plains nearly 120 miles from the heavily settled East coast.

Only the tiny 480-acre West Hollywood Reservation, site of BIA and Seminole Tribal Headquarters and a small, modern subdivision-style Seminole community, is near a population center.

Strangely enough U.S. 441, which passes through the Cherokee's Qualla Reservation in North Carolina, also passes by the Seminole West Hollywood tract.

IN MISSISSIPPI, the 4,000 Choctaws live in seven communities spread over nearly 100 miles in the eastern part of the state. Where they once controlled much of Mississippi and Alabama, the Choctaws now live on 17,200 acres of tribal land or on privately owned farms nearby.

Philadelphia, a farming and industrial town of 5,000 is near the center of the Choctaw lands.

On these distant, poorly roaded and primitive tracts, ignorance, disease, and poverty flourish. With Choctaw, Seminole and Miccosukee languages often spoken at home, children have difficulty learning English at school. So in Florida and Mississippi, Indian schools hire teacher aides from the tribe who can translate.

CHEROKEES, WITH the first written American Indian alphabet and civilized government, are the most literate among Southeastern Indians. Some 90 per cent speak English fluently.

Despite the multiplicity of problems facing them, Southeastern Indians are making progress with a new militancy. They are discarding much of the old friction between tribes, insisting upon more voice in the BIA bureaucracy that governs their lives and seeking new solutions to old problems.

WEST HOLLYWOOD, Fla.

Although he is named for the Seminole war leader who led the U.S. Army in circles for two years in the 1830s, Joe Dan Osceola does not look like a red militant.

But, as he talks, he does not sound peaceful. College educated in Kentucky, Osceola is

president of the Seminole Indian Tribes, Inc. On his desk sits a sign reading, "America is Indian Country."

"The United States of America took part in many wars," Osceola said. "It's always spent billions and billions of dollars rebuilding the nation it defeated."

"Why in hell don't they rebuild the Indians?" Osceola asks rhetorically. "Yes, they spend millions and millions of dollars on Indians. But it's controlled by whites in the Department of the Interior."

"White people call me radical," Osceola said. "But if standing up for your people is radical, I guess I am."

"Even the Boston Tea Party was blamed on us," he said. "I grew up seeing Indians portrayed on TV as savages." Osceola said most Indians still don't trust white men in general because of the treatment red men received from whites during the 19th century.

"The treaties promised us the land would be ours 'as long as the grass is green and the rivers flow,'" Osceola said. "But the following year the land was always taken. 'What kind of trust are you going to get with that kind of record?'"

If most Indians are not militant, they are acutely aware of their difference from what they refer to as "the dominant culture." There is a popular myth among Indians that they are the superior race and will outlast whites and Negroes.

"I imagine I'll have to go along with it," Buffalo Tiger, Miccosukee tribal chairman, said in his Tamiami Trail office in the Everglades. "Indians think the other races will burn themselves out. You're in too much of a hurry, always moving, building, destroying."

"We just can't live that way," Tiger said. "We can't go to the city and build tall buildings. We just think it's wrong to lose what God has given us."

"He didn't give us books," Tiger said. "He gave us this land." Tiger motioned out the window. The Everglades were as flat as a green and brown, suede table, stretching to the horizon. The Tamiami Trail split the swamp like a knife scar.

Choctaw Tribal Council Chairman Emmett York, in Philadelphia, Miss., agrees.

"You whites have your way of thinking about your life, and so do Indians. If a Caucasian sees something he wants," York said, "he will stick his hand out. If he can't get it, he won't draw his hand back. An Indian will."

"Caucasians don't mind walking over people to get something," York said. "Indians won't do that. Caucasians will force their way in when they're not wanted. Indians won't."

Asked if Seminoles were considering something dramatic like the seizure of Alcatraz, Osceola smiled enigmatically.

"Yeah," he said. "We have a few places in mind." Some whites have speculated Seminoles might be eyeing Ft. Moultrie, S.C., where the first Osceola is buried.

CHEROKEE, N.C.—Cherokee High School sits on a hill overlooking U.S. 441 and the Oconoluftee River which parallel each other through "the Village," a strip of tourist shops and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) offices.

From their classrooms, students can glimpse vistas of flowing white water rapids, flowers and green grass during these cool spring days.

The classrooms, however, are condemned 1890 structures, Cherokee BIA Supt. Theodore Krinske calls the high school buildings "disgraceful."

There is only an elementary school library (the only one on the reservation) and the 400 high school students must attend some classes in the new brick elementary school on the other side of the BIA complex, a distance of half a mile.

The new high school was planned for this year but was among President Nixon's budget cuts, Krinske said.

Still, Krinske praises the Cherokee educational program as one of the most successful Indian school systems in operation.

"Fifty per cent of our children here are finishing high school now," Krinske said. He said considerable strides had been made in the last few years.

Seminole BIA Supt. Eugene Barrett said, "You can make me out a liar, but I'd say 50 per cent of them are illiterate, and up to 90 per cent are functionally illiterate."

In Mississippi, the Choctaws are even worse off. Like the Cherokees, they attend all-Indian schools, four day schools and three boarding schools. The schools are considered better than surrounding white schools, but the educational level is low among Choctaws, 4.3 years for men and 3.1 for women.

ADVANCES

Choctaw BIA Supt. John Gordon expects the Choctaws to make dramatic advances educationally in the coming years.

"We graduated 44 students from the Pearl River high school last year," he said. "All of them went on for additional post-high school training."

BIA schools are putting emphasis upon adult education, now because it is the older adults who still cannot speak English. But the new emphasis does not always work, for old reasons.

At Philadelphia, the BIA contracted with RAC Service Co., Inc., for a Family Training Project to introduce Choctaws to the mysteries of 20th century life: indoor plumbing, electric lights and the like. RCA followed up with job training and placement.

PROJECT CLOSED

The project closed this winter. RCA wanted to ship Choctaws off to work in factories, while the Choctaws wanted RCA to build some parts factories on the reservation.

When they couldn't agree, the Choctaws stopped signing up for the program and RCA closed up shop.

At Choctaw, in Mississippi, 70 per cent of the work force is either unemployed or underemployed. Tribal Chairman York says 730 Choctaws need immediate work. The mean family income is less than \$1,500 and 90 per cent make less than \$3,000.

"When there's nothing to do, you just get drunk and get into trouble," one young Choctaw said. "Or you go crazy."

Choctaws

The Choctaws, farmers and hunters, occupied most of Mississippi and part of Alabama when Spanish Explorer Hernando de Soto tangled with them in 1540. Such excellent farmers were they that they often supplied neighboring Chickasaw villages with corn.

Pushmataha, a Choctaw leader, signed over the first of the tribe's land to whites in 1805. Twenty-five years later, other Choctaws signed a final treaty at Dancing Rabbit Creek, which removed most Choctaws to Oklahoma.

A few remained behind, but one of the most peaceful and democratic Indian societies was gone. The few remaining Choctaws lived near Philadelphia, Miss., where unscrupulous whites cheated them of their land and made sharecroppers of them.

Choctaw deprivation uncovered by a U.S. Senate investigation in 1916 prompted far-reaching reform of federal Indian services. But many Choctaws of Mississippi still exist in poverty and its by-products.

Cherokees

Cherokees celebrate a highly complex, traditional culture that stretches back hundreds of years. Sprung from Iroquois stock of the Great Lakes, the Cherokees once governed most of the Appalachian Mountains.

Early contacts with white men earned Cherokees reputations as fierce fighters, but following the American Revolution, they turned with a passion to civilization. In 1810, an illiterate Cherokee half-breed, Sequoyah, produced the only native Indian alphabet.

About the same period of time, Cherokees formed a white man's style government, with legislative, executive and judicial arms, and established a capitol at New Echota, Ga.

In 1828, however, gold was discovered in Dahlonega—deep in Cherokee territory. Cherokees were tricked into surrendering their land and brutally herded like cattle out to Oklahoma. Approximately 1,000 escaped into the North Carolina hills, where their descendants, the Eastern Band of Cherokees, live today.

Seminoles

Seminole ancestors lived on the banks of the Chattahoochee River 300 years ago, known as the Lower Band of the Creek Nation. As white men, with their farms and firearms, moved westward, many Creeks began moving Southward, first into North Florida, then further south.

In North Florida, they formed a loose confederacy with the Miccosukees, a related but separate tribe. They took pride in a name first applied by Creeks, "Isti Simanole," wild ones.

Forced into South Florida by the 1820s, the Seminoles began to fight with Florida settlers over Negro slaves. Seminoles treated their slaves so kindly that Negroes fled white farms to join the Indians.

In 1835, the friction erupted in open warfare and for two years Seminole War Chief Osceola led most of the U.S. Army deep into the Everglades in frustrating guerrilla fighting. After Osceola's imprisonment and death, most Seminoles and Miccosukees were shipped to Oklahoma. A few escaped edep into the swamps, to give birth to the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Florida.

Contrary to legend, the Seminoles have signed several peace treaties since 1835.



PRIDE AND PATHOS

CHEROKEE, N.C. — Jackson Wolfe and his wife had been drinking all day long. He had lost his job in Sylva, and his wife worked at a motel, which opened only for the summer tourist season.

The Wolfes (not their real name) had argued since morning when Jackson drove across the mountains to Waynesville, the closest place he could buy beer.

When the argument reached its crescendo in mid-evening, Jackson took after his wife with an axe. She reached the yard, and neighbors stopped him before he killed her, and took them both to the 23-bed Cherokee Hospital.

"All we seem to have is drunks," one nurse, herself a Cherokee, said. "That's my biggest kick. A lot of them come in without the police for treatment." Dr. Leon Hoffman, chief medical officer, said the hospital needs more staff members, particularly males for the evening shifts to handle violent drunks.

"You just can't tell a Cherokee all of a sudden it's OK to be an Indian," he said. "Drinking is something to do; it's a good way of escape from depression." A 1970 Cherokee Reservation health plan explains further.

"The misuse of alcohol is a problem of extensive ramifications," it reports. "Eighty per cent of the crimes committed on the reservation are attributable, in one way or another, to alcohol."

"Social drinking is unheard of," the report said. "When people drink, they drink to get drunk." Drinking, however, is only one of many symptoms leading to mental trouble, the report said.

"Family breakdown, joblessness, lack of complete formal education and neglect of children all lead to emotional disorders," the report said. "Our approach to the problem at the present time is limited because of the lack of competent manpower."

"The extent of the mental health problem is difficult to determine," the report said. "However, it is evident that it pervades the entire population."

BIA and tribal officials point out that alcoholism is not a problem peculiar to Indians, but common to all classes and races of people.

"Drinking is a problem throughout these mountains," Cherokee BIA Supt. Theodore Krinske said. In Florida, Seminole Joe Dan Osceola agreed, "It's always the drunk Indians you hear about. Nobody writes about the Indians who can hold their booze."

Many Brighton Seminoles buy their alcohol in Moore Haven, Glades County seat on the Southwestern shore of Lake Okeechobee. In this small fishing and ranch town, you hear both sides.

Even the Glades County sheriff's office, feeling is divided. "Florida made it legal for Indians to buy alcohol three years ago, and one clerk said there has been little trouble. But another disagreed.

"Worst mistake they ever made," she huffed. "There was one drunk bunch of Indians after that law passed."

A few Indian youths are even turning to drugs. They can't afford expensive marijuana, speed, or heroin, but they drink cough syrup, a mixture of alco-

hol and opiates, and they sniff glue, Seminole BIA Supt. Eugene Barrett said.

In Mississippi, the Neshoba County Sheriff's department is still sensitive over its handling of law enforcement among minority groups.

Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and some of his deputies were convicted of conspiracy in the 1963 murder of the three civil rights workers.

In 1968, Mississippi courts ruled the state had no authority over the Choctaw Reservation. And Choctaw Tribal Council Chairman Emmett York says Choctaws are still getting a raw deal off the reservation.

Although Choctaws are trying to stay out of friction between Negroes and whites, York says Choctaws can get served in only one restaurant in Neshoba County. And they are still being "roughed up" by rural whites, York says.

Choctaw BIA Supt. John Gordon says stories about discrimination may make good reading, "But I'm highly suspicious of these one-sided, distorted approaches."

The Choctaws have their own two-year-old force, established right after the 1968 ruling.

The police force is all-Choctaw now, except for its white commander.

Social illnesses, such as crime and drinking, are a major part of the Indian health problem.

BIG COVE, N.C.—Thomas Owle, lumber jack, does not look his 35 years. His pretty wife, Dorothy, looks younger than most white mountaineers her age.

But both of them are obese—fat—and both of them are diabetics. The disease is a common one here, in one of the more remote communities of the Cherokee Qualla Reservation. It is common, in fact, among all Indians.

"There is an unusually high incidence of diabetes among the Cherokees," the 1970 Cherokee Health Report said. "Many if not all of these patients are extremely difficult to control. Largely, these people do not adhere to the recommended diet."

"For many people, beans, fat-back, gravy, bread, grits and potatoes are the only foods they eat," the report said. "Lean red meat and vegetables are missing from many diets."

A problem allied to obesity and dietary ailments common to Indians, as to whites, is heart disease. In 1968, the Indian Health Service's Oklahoma City area, including the Southeast, recorded 231.1 deaths per 100,000 Indians.

Second-rated killer of Oklahoma City area Indians is accidents, strangely enough. Though only fourth-rated among the entire U.S. population, accidents killed 125.7 Indians of 100,000 in 1968.

An earlier four-year study showed that accidents killed twice as many Indians, percentage-wise, as whites. Motor accidents, taking more than half the lives (54 per cent), was by far the chief cause.

Also, the economic level of many Indians does not permit them to buy good cars.

ASHAMED

But doctors say there is another reason for the high accident rate among Indians. There is a self-destructive tendency which runs through many Indians, doctors say. It is caused by the shame and hopelessness many of them feel because of their red skin.

Related to dietary deficiencies is another health problem which is perhaps more noticeable—dental diseases.

When Dorothy Owle's mother smiles, she displays a row of gold teeth glistening in the sun. New false teeth are no longer gold, but the average Indian in the Oklahoma City area has 4.9 missing teeth, 4.2 decayed teeth and 2.3 permanent, filled teeth.

And the dental care available is hopelessly inadequate. The Cherokees, with only one dentist available, get only 23.8 per cent of the dental care they need, the health report said. The Choctaws receive only 23.2 per cent. The Seminoles and Miccosukee, who contract with Florida's state health service, receive only 6.5 per cent of the dental care they need.

The deficiency will remain severe because expansion plans were scotched by President Nixon's domestic budget cuts, officials said.

The 23-bed Cherokee Hospital, built in the 1930s, was to be enlarged or replaced, now there is no money. Cherokees must continue to exist without the outpatient facilities they need. They are still waiting for mental health facilities to combat what Dr. Leon Hoffman called "the Cherokee's most serious health problem."

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla.

— Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, and Miccosukee tribal leaders met here early in April, right after most college students had returned home from their Easter weekend.

The meeting was an executive gathering of United Southeastern Tribes, Inc., a non-profit corporation formed in 1963 to assure the four tribes a more powerful voice and now aiming its guns at some of the most serious problems still facing Southern Indians.

Those who know the tribes can appreciate the unusualness of the confederacy. The Miccosukees and the Seminoles argue over land claims. The Seminoles claim they represent all Florida Indians, including the Miccosukees and want full rights to the

multi-million-dollar claims settlement expected momentarily from the Indians Claims Commission.

Despite their differences and historic tribal rivalries, Southern Indians are learning that co-operation between tribes may be the only way they can gain at least some control of their collective and individual destinies.

For instance, a year and a half ago, management and technical training for Southern Indians was funded through an Atlanta University-sponsored Office of Economic Opportunity grant. But Indians soon began to feel that the Atlanta University connection was too binding.

Last May 16, the United Southeastern Tribes resolved: "That if it is impossible after a period of six months . . . to operate in harmony with the policies of Atlanta University, the United Southeastern Tribes Advisory

Board will seek other alternatives to obtain its objectives."

BREAK AWAY

Ten days later, the USET decided to break away from Atlanta University and apply for OEO funds themselves, beginning in July 1969.

OEO agreed to fund an Indian Community Action Project through the United Southeastern Tribes. The ICAP now operates from an East Point office with a young Sioux-Chippewa named Claire St. Arnaud, from North Dakota, as its director.

USET SPONSORS

Already the USET is sponsoring management courses designed to teach tribal leaders the skills they need to assume the management of tribal resources currently by Bureau of Indian Affairs staff members.

In Florida, Seminoles raise 7,000 head of cattle — Brahman, Charlais, Angus and other breeds — with the help of University of Florida beef specialists. Cattle bring Seminoles \$500,000 a year income.

Florida's Indian Affairs Commission wants Seminoles and Miccosukees to raise alligators to offset the 15,000 alligators killed by poachers each year. Old timers in the swamps are skeptical that anyone can raise alligators in captivity.

ENTHUSIASTIC

But the tribal leaders are enthusiastic. It is the kind of work they relish. "This is good land for alligator farms," Miccosukee Tribal Council Chairman Buffalo Tiger said.

In North Carolina, the Cherokee tribal government levies a three per cent sales tax to finance its extensive operations in law enforcement, fire protection and sanitation services.

The pageant "Unto These Hills" and the Oconoluftee Indian Village provide considerable income for Cherokees of all ages and serve to keep alive traditional handicrafts, such as

The Seminoles and Miccosukees see a role for themselves in conservation, since Indians were the "first conservationists," they say.

During periods of heavy rain, a system of drainage canals permitted flood waters to flow into the Everglades swamp. During droughts, water was drained out of the swamps to irrigate nearby farm land.

ECOLOGY

Over a period of time, however, conservationists say, the ecology of the Everglades has been upset. Alternating periods of severe flooding and drought in the Everglades is endangering much of its wildlife and plant life.

"The non-Indian knows too

much," Tiger said. "But not in the simple ways the Indian knows. Why don't you learn from us?"

"Years ago, we had canoes to get through the swamp," Tiger said. "We did not need canals. Now the game is gone, and the hammocks are flooded. The Miccosukees can not live there."

The seminoles and Miccosukees really grew angry over plans to build a second Miami international jet port in the Everglades. The uproar from them and other conservationists put a quick end to the plan. The jet port would have been built almost adjacent to the Seminole-Miccosukee reservation near Big Cypress.

STARVATION

"It would have destroyed the Everglades," Tiger said. "Families which make their living from hunting and fishing would have starved. The jets would drive the wildlife away."

As Southeastern Indians take a larger interest in matters which concern them, they yearn for a greater role in directing their own affairs.



MAJOR INDIAN TRIBES DOT SOUTHEAST

1. Cherokee. 2. Choctaw. 3. Seminoles and Miccosukee. 4. Cherokee

pipe-making, arrowhead carving, basket-weaving, wood-carving and other skills.

OTHER MONEY

The tribe also gets money from land leased to shop owners along the "village" and to industrial plants in the Oconoluftee Valley.

In Mississippi, the poverty-stricken Choctaws are making plans for a

Commercial center, industrial park, recreational center, and post office. The center would be near the present Pearl River community and would be designated Choctaw, Miss., to give it "character and identity."

Throughout the Southeast, Indians are pushing for greater control over their own affairs. And the Bureau of Indian Affairs is moving, albeit slowly, to afford them that control.

Friction seems likely to continue as Indians find their own comfortable identity and seek — perhaps sometimes overeagerly — for independence from the bureaucratic, but compassionate, federal agencies. Yet, it seems possible at last that Southeastern Indians can remain Indian and flourish.

Most Indians Still Don't Trust the White Man

A new 28 wind is blowing on Maine reservations

"There is a gradual improvement: they (the Indians) are becoming more and more like the white man. Their manners, style of dress, and habits of living compare favorably with many of the white people, and their ability to read and write gives them a standing very far in advance of what they were a few years ago."

That was the self-satisfied observation about Maine's Passamaquoddy Tribe offered by G. W. Nutt, the state's Indian agent for the tribe, in a report to the 42nd Legislature 108 years ago. He indicates he was making progress in civilizing his redskin charges.

If Mr. Nutt were able to return today and visit the Passamaquoddy reservations at Pleasant Point in Perry near Eastport and Peter Dana Point in Indian Township on the north side of Calais he would undoubtedly swell with pride at the fruits of his labors . . . at first.

He would see the Passamaquoddies living in houses just like white men, wearing the clothes of the white man and traveling about in the cars of the technological white man. And if he were able to talk with tribal leaders he would be impressed by their command of the English language.

But if Mr. Nutt tarried a while and eavesdropped on the discussions of tribal leaders among themselves (in Passamaquoddy tongue) and heard the way they at times talk back to some very high officials in Augusta as well as bringing legal actions against the white man in the white man's own courts, his pride would turn to pain.

Mr. Nutt would be aghast because while the Passamaquoddies may have adopted the superficial trappings of the white man, they are beginning to assert radical attitudes of demanding a productive place in the society imposed on them, not as bleached-out cultural carbon copies of their white step-brothers but as red-blooded Indians.

By deciding to reassert their Indian attitudes and cast off the role conceived for them by people such as Mr. Nutt, the Passamaquoddies are setting out on a difficult course. Although Mr. Nutt is no longer around, there are plenty of his type who are.

Such a goal of maintaining a culture within and yet distinctly apart from the prevailing one would seem improbable if not unrealistic.

But the Passamaquoddies are a unique people, and given the growing evidence of capability — not to mention courage — of the tribe's current leaders the odds are reduced considerably.

That the Passamaquoddies exist today as a tribe is remarkable in itself. It is also clear testament to an indomitable will and a fierce determination not be dissolved into the bland blend of the great melting pot. For the 150 years since Maine acquired statehood it has with almost systematic consistency repressed the Passamaquoddy, broken treaty obligations, impoverished him, stolen his lands, given away his timber, mismanaged the money of his trust fund, played tribal factions against each other and attempted to reduce him to a feeling of worthlessness.

It almost worked.

But the Passamaquoddies not only survived, they are now beginning to break out of the 1½-century layered cocoon of hopelessness and helplessness with a new sense of self-esteem, confidence and self-assertion.

There were glimmerings of these new attitudes a year and a half ago when this writer first became acquainted with the Passamaquoddies. In just this short time, the sparks have burst into a strong flame.

"Kmah-jah-mou-b-ya-ben" is a rough phonetic rendering of the Passamaquoddy phrase used by Wayne Newell to describe the tribe's new era. Translation: "We are beginning to sit together."

To the non-Indian this may not say much. It refers to the long decades in which devisiveness was sown among the Passamaquoddies by the doling out of food and other benefits to the Uncle Tomahawks and the denial of these to those who refused to humble themselves before the Indian agent.

The phrase means that the leaders are now beginning to work together for the common good of the tribe.

"We're beginning to recognize the games the state plays in using one Indian against the other through favoritism," said Newell, a Passamaquoddy who as a Ford

Foundation Fellow is one of the instrumental leaders in the development of the tribe's new role. "We are not falling into these traps any longer. Despite our differences, if we accomplished nothing more than this, we have accomplished a lot."

The wrongs inflicted upon the Passamaquoddies mentioned above are not just dark chapters out of the state's past. They are still happening today. The bureaucrats continue to make and break promises to the Passamaquoddy. But instead of suffering these in silent resignation, tribal leaders are now demanding redress of these wrongs and succeeding in their efforts.

The construction of new classroom buildings is a case in point. A couple of years ago Maine voters overwhelmingly approved a bond issue for the new Indian school facilities. Education of their children is a top priority with the Passamaquoddies and the prospect of new enlarged schoolroom space was heartening to them.

However, between the time the bond issue was approved and construction started, building costs had risen. Corners were cut and inferior materials were used to stay within the allotted budget. In some instances, specifications were not followed.

A non-Indian friend with an engineering background became suspicious and suggested to tribal leaders that tests be made of the newly constructed walls. Gov. John Stevens of Peter Dana Point recalled that last November the tests were made and whereas the specification called for construction that would withstand 3,300 pounds of pressure per square inch, the schoolroom walls in some places would only take pressure of 900 pounds per square inch. The contractor, Stevens said, had not reinforced the concrete with steel rods. The walls were taken down and rebuilt with the required steel reinforcement.

When it became obvious that the Passamaquoddies were getting shortchanged once again on the schools that had been promised them Stevens and Gov. Eugene Francis began firing off letters to Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis insisting that he keep the state's promises.

To back up their demands, the tribal leaders discovered that the state Department of Education had not fully pressed for the Indians' share of federal funds that could have been made available for their use under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary School Act. Because of this oversight, they threatened to bring legal action that would tie up all of the Title I federal money for Maine unless the state approved additional money to insure that the construction of the new schools was sound and adequate. The additional money was forthcoming.

The incident over the school construction brought sharp memories of a similar experience for Stevens. In 1957, without consulting the Passamaquoddies or obtaining their consent the state took \$157,000 out of their trust fund to build new reservation housing. The materials were poor and the construction shoddy.

Stevens commented that if they had let the same thing happen to the school construction without protesting, the classroom buildings would begin to fall apart and "people would say look at the new schools we gave the Indians and they're dilapidated already. We are not going to let them get away with that."

Another case pointing up that the Passamaquoddies are not going to be as easily bulldozed into situations against their will is the sewer project being undertaken at

the Pleasant Point reservation. Gov. Francis commented that the sewer project as well as a new water system is under exclusive control of the reservation's housing authority. Nevertheless, Francis said, the Department of Indian Affairs authorized the engineering firm which designed the project to hire a second resident engineer last August even though work was not scheduled to begin until three months later.

For that three-month period the housing authority received a bill of \$1,800 for the engineer. Since the authority had not approved the engineer's hiring and had no idea what he had been doing for three months it refused to pay the bill.

The state eventually paid the engineer \$900. Francis wondered with a quizzical smile why the authority was asked to pay \$1,800, but, when it refused, the state only came up with \$900.

A number of promises were made to the Passamaquoddies after their July 4, 1968 demonstration protest (in the form of picnic) halted the strip cutting of timber from Passamaquoddy lands in Indian Township. After a dramatic meeting between state officials, Georgia-Pacific Paper Co. spokesmen and representatives of the tribe, it was agreed that in addition to assurances that the timber would not be harvested in this destructive manner, Georgia-Pacific would hire Indian woods crews for those operations on Passamaquoddy land. The grand gesture received a lot of publicity.

However, Stevens said, the company also agreed it would hire a Passamaquoddy to supervise the Indian crews, but this never materialized. Three Indian woods crews had been put to work, but because there was no Indian coordinator who could communicate with them, all of the Indians eventually quit.

"The hiring of Indian crews," Stevens said, "was a tokenistic effort that set us up so they could say: 'Why give Indians jobs, they don't want to work'."

Most of the state agencies are just as bad, the tribal leader maintained.

Stevens attended a meeting last week called by the University of Maine Cooperative Extension Service which is beginning to get involved in projects with the Passamaquoddies. The Extension Service had called the meeting with various state agency representatives and tribal leaders to learn what the other departments were doing in assisting the Passamaquoddies. Stevens turned the tables around by getting up and telling the gathering what the state agencies weren't doing to help the Passamaquoddies, namely by ignoring an executive directive from Gov. Curtis asking that they make job opportunities available to Indians wherever possible.

The only state departments who opened up jobs to the Passamaquoddies were the Maine Employment Security Commission and the Forestry Department. The worst offender, he said, was the Department of Indian Affairs, the agency that is supposed to have as its sole purpose the assistance of the state's Indians. The Highway Department, Stevens said, wasn't any better.

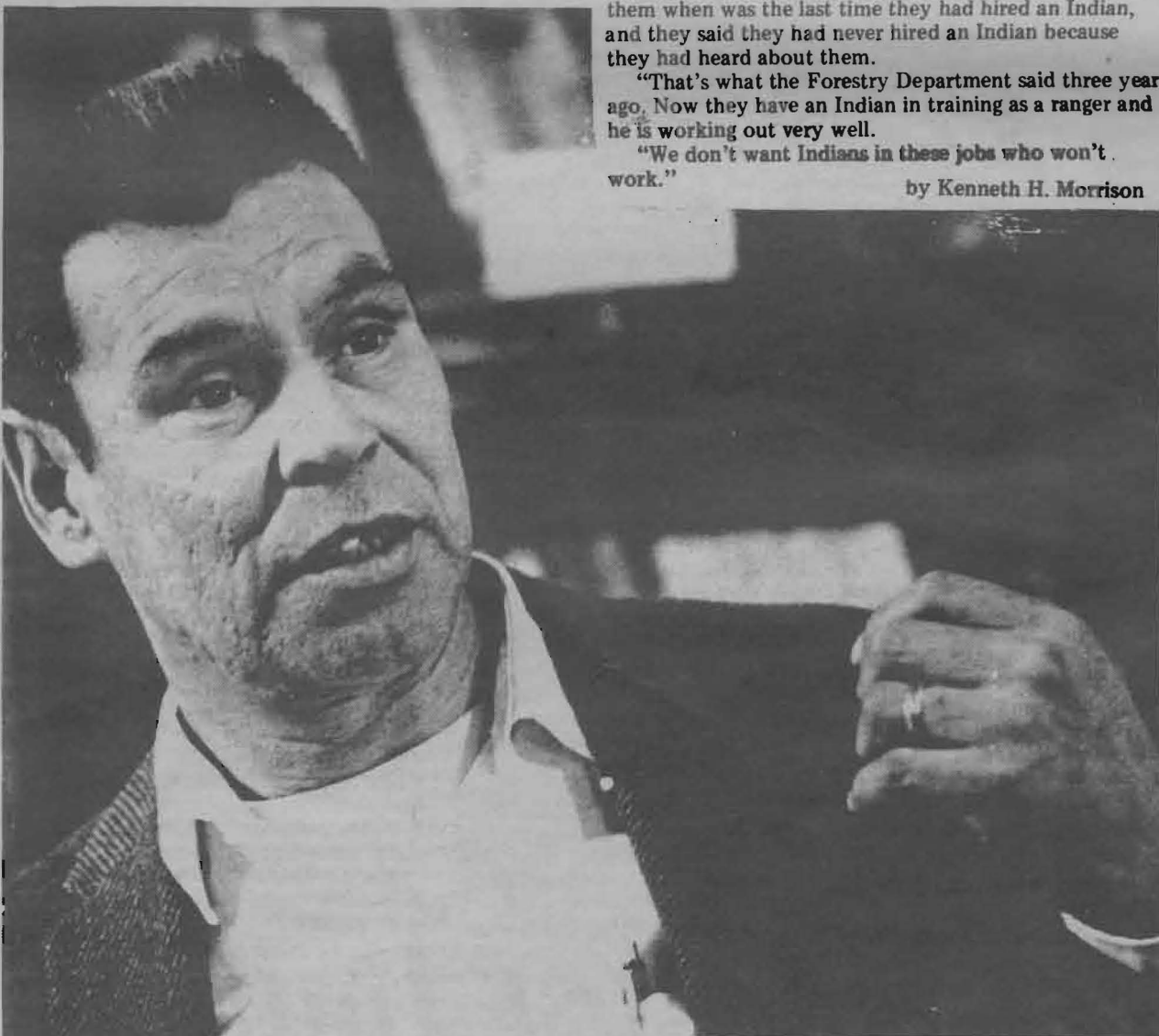
He said the Highway Department maintains 20 miles of roads on the Peter Dana Point Reservation (for which much of the land was taken from the tribe without compensation).

"But, the Highway Department won't hire Indians. They say that Indians aren't steady workers. We asked them when was the last time they had hired an Indian, and they said they had never hired an Indian because they had heard about them."

"That's what the Forestry Department said three years ago. Now they have an Indian in training as a ranger and he is working out very well."

"We don't want Indians in these jobs who won't work."

by Kenneth H. Morrison



Passamaquoddy Governor Eugene Francis

MAINE TIMES

April 3, 1970

This is how Maine Indians ²⁹ see their department

Maine's Department of Indian Affairs, born nearly five years ago with bright promises of a renaissance in state Indian policies where before there had been decades of repression, is moribund at an early age.

The department still exists and is functioning like many another state agency in Augusta. Paperwork continues to be shuffled, probably with improved efficiency. Its officials make appearances at public meetings and espouse a line of seemingly enlightened commitment. And, the department is still dispensing welfare benefits to Indians, inadequate though it may be.

By carrying out these bureaucratic activities, the department gives the appearance that it is functioning. However, to Maine Indians — at least the Passamaquoddy Tribe — the Department of Indian Affairs is only functioning as a live cadaver going through the motions. As far as the department fulfilling its vital role of being an agency to assist the Passamaquoddy in achieving change of substance in tribal life it is for all practical purposes dead.

Several Passamaquoddy leaders commented that the department not only is less than active in aiding the tribe in its aims for self-sufficiency and self-reliance but is impeding progress in this direction. They feel so strongly on this point that they asked Maine Times not to run a story on the department's new commissioner, James H. Murphy, ("Meet Maine's Newest Commissioners, M/T April 3) for fear that it would give the department credibility in the public's mind when to them the department is now totally lacking in credibility.

Murphy has been in office only four months, but he has already turned off several top Passamaquoddy leaders. The exception is Gov. Eugene Francis of the Pleasant Point reservation in Perry, who believes that the new commissioner should be given a little more time to prove himself.

But to the others, Murphy's appointment represents a critical backward step of retrenchment in Indian affairs policy and the most serious setback for the Passamaquoddy in the last couple of years — coming at a time when the tribe itself is making significant strides toward its goals.

The chief complaint of Murphy's Indian critics is that he "has shut the department's doors" to them and they no longer know what the agency is doing or planning in contrast to the open participation in departmental matters they enjoyed during the administration of Murphy's predecessor, Edward C. Hinckley.

The Passamaquoddy leaders feel that he is more interested in being an efficient administrator rather than developing the department as the voice and vehicle in Augusta for promoting the Indian cause.

"His major concern is with keeping books," said one Passamaquoddy spokesman.

Another, when asked whether Murphy plans to continue Hinckley's policy of developing Indian leadership so the Indians themselves can take over the department's operation, responded: "Who knows? We can't say because we don't know what he says or what he thinks. He never comes down here (to the reservation) alone. He's either got Crawford (Deputy Commissioner Michael R. Crawford) or Scribner (former acting Commissioner Rodney L. Scribner) with him. I think he's scared of Indians."

"With Ed Hinckley everyone knew what was going on. Now the Indians don't know what's happening in the department — the doors are closed," he said. "Ed was the kind of fellow who came around every three weeks or a month and discussed things with us. He played the role of informing Indians and motivating them."

"The greatest weapon against Indians is lack of information. The tribal councils haven't received one report since Murphy took office. We've got a department now that the Indians can't use to work for them, but is back to running our affairs — it has turned back time."

What about Deputy Commissioner Crawford, who is a full-blooded Penobscot?

Crawford's presence in the department, they indicated, may amount to so much window-dressing. Two Passamaquoddy leaders concurred that Crawford is a bright, able young man but they doubt that he'll be permitted to exert much influence on departmental policy.

One non-Indian who shares a close confidence with the Passamaquoddy puts it this way: The Passamaquoddy instinctively sense that Murphy is uncomfortable with them and this they view as a sign of weakness. And, the Indians have little use for timid friends after years of being taken in by anemic liberals and errant do-gooders who unburden their consciences with platitudes of social concern but who remain quietly in the background when the Indians fight for the very things they talk about. The Passamaquoddy are only interested in advocates who are willing to work and fight along side of them. They have had their fill of sympathy and the attention of those who study them as cultural curiosity pieces.

That is why Hinckley is so highly regarded said the non-Indian observer: "He is a fighter."

Fighting for Indian needs cost Hinckley his job as Maine's first Indian Affairs commissioner last year. Faced at the time with the difficult choice of either spreading an inadequate budget thin to cover the fiscal year and not meet the basic welfare needs of Indians or of taking care of these needs by over-running his budget, Hinckley opted for the latter. This put him in the position of having to ask the 104th Legislature for an emergency appropriation to keep the department operating for the remainder of the fiscal year.



**and they're using
more than straws
to re-awaken it**

The Indian Affairs commissioner was crucified as a budgetary heretic by the legislature. The lawmakers were more concerned with the department's "fiscal irresponsibility" than with the irresponsibility of the previous legislature in not allocating sufficient funds to meet obligations to the Indians that the state legally and morally assumed when Maine separated from Massachusetts 150 years ago, an event now being celebrated this sesquicentennial year.

The price of obtaining the additional revenue from the legislature was Hinckley's resignation.

This lesson may not have been lost on Murphy.

But in the process, the department to the Passamaquoddy has become a shell of its former self and is even accused of being racist in its refusal to hire Indians for certain jobs. A case in point mentioned by Indians and non-Indian friends alike is the job of Indian agent in the department's Calais office which serves the Passamaquoddy Pleasant Point and Peter Dana Point reservations.

While there is a number of Passamaquoddy who are capable of the job demands — who else could be more familiar with the tribe's needs? — the job description for the position requires a college education. This paper pedigree automatically excludes Passamaquoddy from consideration.

Gov. John Stevens of Peter Dana Point said the department should deal directly with the tribal councils at the two reservations through two Indian sub-agents rather than channeling everything through a white Indian agent in Calais.

"I suggested this yesterday (at a meeting of representatives from various state departments)," Stevens said. "And all they would say is that Indians aren't qualified. The people in Indian Affairs aren't behind us — all they do is put obstacles in our way."

The decline of the Department of Indian Affairs from the Passamaquoddy viewpoint has been one of the most serious setbacks in the last two years in their efforts to break out of the state's welfare dependency. In contrast to this, Passamaquoddy leaders commented that moderate to substantial gains are being made in other

areas, principally with the state Department of Education and in their attempts to establish economic independence for tribal members — a major part of the latter has been self-initiated.

Pluses chalked up in the last two years include a stronger stance by Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis in lending the weight of his office in support of tribal projects; a new awareness on the part of the Department of Education of Passamaquoddy educational problems and the active participation in attempts to resolve these by Peter S. Terry, adult education project director, and Miss Merry Ring, Indian elementary education supervisor; and, increasing assistance from the University of Maine under Chancellor Donald McNeil.

Also counted on their side is the continued outspoken support of Louis L. Doyle, Indian services director for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Portland.

The most glaring weakness in Indian education is at the high school level where the drop-out rate of Passamaquoddy is notoriously high because of poor programs.

"If nothing is done soon we will have another generation of drop-outs . . . or white Indians," says Newell.

The Indians hope to do something about this severe problem soon, themselves. The Passamaquoddy, the Penobscots of Old Town and the Aroostook Association of Indians are working with Indians of the Maritime provinces — the Malecites and Micmacs — in a joint project to set up a teaching and research center in bicultural education for secondary level Indian youth at the former Job Corps Center in Bar Harbor. Former Indian Affairs Commissioner Hinckley is serving as a consultant to the group, Tribe Inc. The organization is now in the process of negotiating with a couple of foundations for financial support of the program.

The Bar Harbor school is one of the top two priority projects among the Passamaquoddy. The other is the establishment of a basket-making industry in Princeton as a means of winning economic independence and self-sufficiency.

Once in operation, the industry would employ about 80 workers, according to Gov. Stevens. And that means an income with no strings attached for 80 Passamaquoddy families.

"Putting people to work will give them hope and it will put them on their feet," says Gov. Stevens. "With an income they can then build homes and go after an education."

Stevens mentions that it is pretty difficult for an Indian in present circumstances to be concerned about social justice and obtaining an education when his mind is preoccupied with worries over where the next meal for his family is coming from.

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Saga of Crazy Horse

By George Brave

Crazy Horse was one of the great men of the Sioux Tribe because he led his people to greatness. He was born in 1842 near Rapid Creek.

He had brown hair or light hair as a boy. One of his best friends was He Dog. He called him brother and Curly.

When he was 17 his father gave him the honored name of Crazy Horse while looking him in the face with his pride.

Crazy Horse was the most important man watching the Black Hills being invaded by the white men. Sometimes a few soldiers drove them out.

One day young Curly saw Conquering Bear shot on Aug. 19, 1854 by soldiers under Lt. Grattan.

After the great council of Teton Lakota (the Sioux) in the summer of 1857, Crazy Horse, American Horse, and Little Big Man attacked the old Hortheshoe Station.

On March 19, 1868 was the time of the great Fort Laramie Treaty Council to establish roads and military posts, and bring peace by the Plains Tribes in return for annuities.

Crazy Horse did not like this as many Sioux were killed and in prison. This was in 1871.

The fight with Stanley's troop under Custer took place Aug. 11, 1873 later after he fought with the Sioux at Yellowstone.

Crazy Horse could not forget this because one of the soldiers killed an old woman and little boy while they went after firewood and were carrying it home on their backs.

As that winter went on, Crazy Horse sent out many scouts to his people to move north. Crazy Horse heard Custer wanted to kill all the Sioux.

Later most of the Sioux were brought to the Platte River in an expedition under Connor, and all the Sioux fled to cross the river.

But it was so high they couldn't cross. One of the chiefs made a hearing to give a fast, sacrifice for sundance that summer, and said a prayer over the river. When the river sent down, they all fled across.

Before Custer attacked the Sioux at the Little Big Horn, there were several councils about making a treaty on the Paha Sapa.

An agreement had been made. The Sicangu, Oglala, Hunkpapa, Minneconjou, No Bows, Two Kettle, and Black Fox, to make this Seven Bands.

It was called seven ashes with agencies around the Black Hills, west, north, east, and south.

That was the agreement but since the Battle of the Little Big Horn, it has disappeared. If this had not happened, today we would not have these tiny shacks that the people are living in.

Crazy Horse moved to the north, with about 4 or 5,000 people onto the Little Big Horn.

Before the battle began, Crazy Horse shouted "hoka hey" and threw a handful of gopher dust on his fresh war horse, and put some little grass spears thru his braids just like the driving snow of a winter storm.

He put hail stone marks on his body, a lightning streak down his face, and a red-backed hawk on his head.

And the Battle of the Little Big Horn was done. Afterwards one of the chiefs said: "These are the same soldiers who killed my wife at the Yellowstone battle three years ago."

White Hat was offering \$100 and a red sorrel horse to the one who kills Crazy Horse. Once more no one stepped forward. Crazy Horse knew they were after him.

Who are the people who will come for us, Red Cloud, Red Dog, Little Wound, American Horse, Three Bear and other all very old friends, he wondered.

The officers continued to ask Crazy Horse to come to the soldiers' house. He finally spoke his agreement. But fifteen miles out many of the scouts of Spotted Tail came up on Chadron Creek. Crazy Horse knew he was already prisoner.

He rode down at a gallop, singing as he came upon them: "I have been looking all my life to die. Today I see only the clouds and the ground. I am all scarred up."

Crazy Horse had heard that Three Stars and Clark were about to try to get him. As they were going near the stockade, Little Big Man grabbed his arms from behind.

"Let me go, let me go!" Crazy Horse cried, and Little Big Man had to drop one hand. Blood was running across his slashed arm.

The officer of the day had tried to use his sword against Crazy Horse, saying "stab him, kill the son of a bitch."

Crazy Horse cried again: "Let me go, my friend you have hurt me enough."

They let his hands go and he staggered, turned half way around, and sank to the ground, his shirt and leggings already wet and blood-darkened.

Ahhh, then it was true. The Whites had picked this day to get rid of Crazy Horse, so they could drive all the Sioux people back to the hated Missouri River, he thought.

The guard came running up to hold him, while the officer of the day lunged with his bayonet and hit the door. He jerked it free and lunged twice more at Crazy Horse.

The redness of the steel was seen and the noise of alarm of warning arose from the watching Indians.

Crazy Horse pulled at his capturers once more. "Let me go, my friends," he panted.

Most of the people had fled down the river, while watching the house called the adjutant's office, where it was said the great Lakota warrior lay, perhaps dying, from the white man's bayonet.

Then all the Indians were gone. He Dog stood bowed a long time, his head down in sorrow.

It was the jealousy of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail that started the stories going saying Crazy Horse was to be made chief over all the Sioux.

Finally White Hat rose up somewhere and joined He Dog at the side of the wounded man. He saw the Oglala was badly hurt and he laid his own red blanket over him.

Then Touch The Cloud came wandering up. He too saw how it was, He Dog pulling the blood-soaked shirt from the wounded Crazy Horse.

Crazy Horse had a deep wound thru the kidney. He looked to his two friends and made no word.

So Touch The Cloud went to ask that the chief might be taken to a lodge of his people to die. But Bradley refused, saying he could put him in the adjutant's office instead of the guardhouse.

Touch The Cloud then received permission to stay with his cousin and friend. They carried him into the kerosene-lit room and put him on the floor, under the red blanket.

In the soldier's house, Touch The Cloud sat beside the wounded man and he was joined by another Sioux, Worm. The father had come to be with his son, now his wrinkled old face half covered with his blanket.

The father was thinking: never could there be a gun strong enough or whites numerous enough to kill Crazy Horse.

When Worm was brought to the bare, dusty room, he stooped over the wounded man and said: "Son, I am here."

But from Crazy Horse there was only the slow heavy breathing, as the night grew old and the faded moon arose. Once or twice, he stirred a little. Each time Worm stooped over him and whispered: "I am here."

But there was nothing till finally the son saw him:

"Ahh, my father, I am badly hurt. Tell the people it is no use to depend on me anymore now," Crazy Horse said.

For a while it seemed the wounded warrior would say more. Then slowly his head seemed to settle back. The eyes opened wide and one long braid slid to the floor.

Gently, Touch The Cloud replaced it and held it on the breast of his friend with his strong hand. In the yellow light of the lamp, the two men wept; the tears like rain washing over live rocks, for the strange man of the Oglalas was dead.

Less than 100 years ago, on Sep. 5, 1877, Crazy Horse died by the bayonet.

His parents wanted to bury their son and chief alone, where nobody would find his body. They wrapped him in a blanket and put it on a travois.

They started east, crossed the prairie of the Rosebud country to Whetstone Creek, and decided to bury him somewhere near there.

They then left and went home, telling no one where they buried the dead chief.

Many days later his parents went back to the temporary grave, dug up the body and proceeded west to a place very near the badlands, where they buried their warrior son in a deep grave of about 30 feet.

They completely filled it up so his body would never be found. Medicine men have said the Sioux chief's body will never be found or given up.

It has been revealed to medicine men that the monument being built to Crazy Horse (apparently the one near Custer) will never be built there or it will be destroyed.

Crazy Horse was a great warrior and chief. He believed in the Great Spirit and freedom for his people.

Many things have happened but few are told. Now I want the Sioux people to know his body will never be taken.

Today, if we want a man like Crazy Horse to lead us into the future. We need a good one. According to many, he is a teenager of this generation.

I noticed this summer, the Head Start Indian children as they walked the hard road of the White Man's way.

So my friends, follow a man who is for the people and think of the future for the people.

INMATES NEED AID

Dear Sir:

Indian members of this institution are very much interested in starting an "All Indian Club."

Help your fellow Indians, support our club, ideas, and goals. Help rehabilitate them into a better life and a better understanding of society.

The purpose of this club basically is:

(1) To unite all Indian members of this institution as One Nation.

(2) To keep ourselves active in our Indian Heritage and Customs.

(3) To help our fellow Indian members upon release.

(4) To help any fellow member in case of dire emergency where he might be short of funds.

Most of the Indians do not have funds and this institution provides only \$15 upon release.

This will not buy a bus ticket for most of the members...and they don't have a complete pay program here.

We hope to keep our members active in our club and out of mischief.

The idea was brought to our attention to start an arts and crafts program to earn ourselves some funds. But to accomplish our goals we need some outside assistance.

-- Melvin L.W.M. and James L. B.H.
All Indian Nations Association,
Idaho State Penitentiary, Box 7309, Boise ID 83707

SEND CRAFT MATERIALS!

Let us continue

The Legal Defense of Thomas J. White Hawk is still about \$2,500 short, according to Bishop Lyman G. Ogilby, its coordinator and treasurer.

He said the total expenses so far have been nearly \$21,000. They included the psychiatric examinations and testimony by Dr. Joseph Satten and Dr. R. E. Schulman of the Menninger Institute.

Also the costs of the hearings, proceedings, court reporters, transcripts, and travel expenses of the defender, Douglas Hall of Minneapolis, and witnesses from South Dakota and other states.

As of Nov. 8, the bishop said \$18,584.34 has been donated.

The gifts came from 47 states, including Hawaii, the District of Columbia, Nassau, the Philippines and Japan.

We would like to appeal to the Indian people and their friends to reach into their pockets and pay off this \$2,500 debt.

Then when this is done, we suggest another drive of this magnitude be again started.

Why? To sponsor a scholarship so that another young Indian may take up studies to become a doctor and fulfill Thomas James White Hawk's boyhood dream.

Why? To sponsor a scholarship so another young Indian may take up studies to become a lawyer to save the lives of others who may need help as White Hawk did.

Why? To sponsor a scholarship so another young Indian may take up studies to become a "holy man" to pray for the rehabilitation of White Hawk and other Indians.

With a few doctors, lawyers and holy men, the Sioux Nation will live again.

Psychedelic movie set at Rosebud

A psychelish picture of scenes of the life on an Indian reservation will be shown at 7:30 p.m., Mar. 17, St. Patrick's Day, in Rosebud CYO Center.

The public is invited to see the movie, An Indian is An Indian is An Indian in the Age of Aquarius and then discuss this topic:

"What do you think of the Indian in the Age of Aquarius and his future?"

FOUNDED 1908
the guide**The police beating: was it tit for tat?**

Rapid Citians were justifiably angry and upset over the incident last weekend in which a local police officer, while arresting a man for driving without a license, was set upon by six young men who clubbed him with his own night stick, maced him with his own equipment and so severely beat him he required hospitalization. Had the officer not been able to finally draw his gun, which he did not fire, one can only speculate as to how far the assault would have gone. All six involved in the alleged beating, plus others involved in harboring the fugitives, were apprehended.

But this bizarre case was far from over.

While the prisoners were being held in the county jail, one died and another required hospitalization. Mayor Allmon at first considered calling for a coroner's jury to determine the cause of the death but was finally convinced no foul play was involved after hearing a diagnosis from a competent medical doctor who examined the body, the county coroner and finally viewing the remains himself along with Sheriff Best and members of the Indian community. The hospitalized man likewise was suffering from an illness, not from abuse by police, unless the withdrawal of alcohol can be considered "abuse."

This entire case is sensitive because it does involve Indian citizens and there are some strong social overtones.

One must first wonder what spark of hatred could be so intense as to bring on the vicious beating this officer took for stopping a car driver for a relatively minor offense—an arrest which, allegedly, was re-

sisted prior to the assault on him. Why all this pent-up hostility?

It may well be that the beating would have happened anyhow but there is more than ample grounds to suspect that the incident was a result of another situation which happened in January of this year at the county jail.

A young Indian man of about 20 years of age had, at that time, been arrested by a member of the Rapid City Police Department. He was securely lodged in the county jail after which the arresting officer stopped for a cup of coffee served him by the jailor. According to the story told me by this arresting officer, the prisoner began to shout foul words, obscenities and profanities. At first the officer and jailor ignored the outbursts, since they are not too unusual. But, as the outbursts continued, the police officer became irritated and finally went to the cell where the prisoner was securely put away. The officer opened and entered the cell. The 6'2", 230 pound officer confronted the 160 pound youth. The officer told me the youth swung on him and he responded with a series of blows to the youth's jaw continuing until the prisoner was unconscious. The officer told me he checked to see if the prisoner was "alright", as later did the jailor. The prisoner, still unconscious, was left in that condition in his cell.

Upon learning of the incident, Mayor Allmon ordered the officer's record brought to him. There was, he found, a long list of "foulups" during the more than nine years the man had been on the force. He had never risen above the rank of patrolman. There

was never any question of whether the officer had administered the beating in the county jail to the Indian youth. The officer himself told the Assistant City Attorney, but just before they went into court on a preliminary hearing. After studying the officer's record, Mayor Allmon ordered him to be immediately discharged from the force. He was. The incident was not kept secret at city hall but did go unreported in the daily paper in this city. It was not known to The Guide until this week.

What makes it important now is that the young Indian youth, who was beaten unconscious in the county jail, was the same young man who led the fierce beating of the police officer last weekend.

Obviously there is a connection. The Indian boy certainly has just cause for his animosity towards the police, even if his attack of the officer Friday was equally unjust.

The Guide has long deplored this type of police brutality and we have exposed it on several occasions. We thought it had stopped but obviously it hasn't entirely. We deplore, just as strongly, brutality towards the police. These two incidents, however, serve to remind us once again of the absolute necessity for new leadership in the police department and a much closer watch on the activities of individual members of the department. Chief Johnson, already notified of his release from this post but waiting for a replacement, still is responsible for his men. The sooner this replacement is made, the better for all, but the new chief, whoever he may be, must be extremely sensitive to the problems of this continuing battle between the minorities of Rapid City and its law enforcement system.

April 7, 1970
**Grand jury check
asked in jail death**

Petitions calling for a grand jury investigation of the death of prisoner Alfred Randall in the Pennington County Jail were presented to Pennington County States Attorney Jack Klauck Tuesday.

The petitions, signed by more than 340 persons, were handed over to Klauck by Father Donald Walsch, representing the Rapid City Indian Steering Committee.

In addition to the death of Randall, the petitions ask that the grand jury investigate the assault on Rapid City policeman James Lyerla on March 20; the arrest of nine persons in connection with the incident, including "a complete expose of the police practices used in apprehending the nine individuals;" the events leading to the hospitalization of prisoner Uris Blue Arm on March 21; and "an examination of general conditions existing in the Pennington County Jail, and of the conduct and attitudes of the guards who are assigned to the jail."

Others present when the petitions were given to Klauck were Carroll Swan, Marty Waukazoo and Muriel Waukazoo of the Steering Committee.

Klauck told the group that he has looked into the incidents "to some extent," but that he has not seen any evidence of a public offense in connection with Randall's death.

"I would like to discuss this with one of the circuit court judges, and then come to some conclusion," he said. "The chances of calling a grand jury are pretty good, but it's really up to a circuit court judge."

Pressed by Swan, Klauck admitted that he would probably have to recommend that a grand jury be called.

Swan said statements from persons he has talked to regarding the arrest of the nine Indians and the subsequent death of Randall are "quite dif-

ferent from the investigation that the white man has come up with."

"There is a degree of negligence there somewhere," he said. "A grand jury will uncover these things. The grand jury can make recommendations for the improvement of (jail) facilities. This is beneficial to the community."

He indicated that jail inmates who were present when Randall died feel that their pleas for help for the sick man were ignored.

"The prisoners yelled and yelled for someone to come. The jailers and police officers yelled back for them to shut up, only they didn't say it that way, they said something worse," Swan contended.

Klauck reiterated that the reports he has studied, including a pathologist's report and statements by prisoners, indicate "no evidence of a public offense" in Randall's death.

Swan asked why a man who was Randall's cellmate and thus would be a prime witness in any grand jury proceedings has been committed to the state mental hospital at Yankton.

Klauck made a telephone call and ascertained that the man had been committed, but was committed on his own request.

"I think he would be available to you," Klauck said. "The grand jury would probably want to talk to him."

"There's a certain aroma that's hanging in that jail now," Swan said. "... Something is not coming out (regarding Randall's death). ... The grand jury is good politics for you (Klauck) too."

The states attorney declined to promise to demand a grand jury investigation. He repeated his desire to discuss the matter with a circuit court judge. He said he'd also like to discuss it with Pennington County Sheriff Glenn Best before making any recommendations.

Indians say prejudice is here

by Bill Wagner

"Better Red Than Dead" say the signs at Alcatraz. "This land is our land" proclaim the pickets at Fort Lawton.

And "get the hell out of here and our lives" may well be the word of the band of Indians who ousted the Bureau of Indian Affairs from its Denver headquarters.

There's no doubt it, the Uncle Tomahawks and Uncle Tom-toms of few years back have been replaced by a band of young, vocal, dynamic Indians who just got tired of waiting for the Great Father to deliver on his sacred word.

This "new Indian" didn't take too long in getting to Rapid City. Actually, he's been here all the time. However, in the last year, he's become a lot more visible. In his own fashion, the new Indian here has started his own mini-revolution against some of the powers that be in the Indian life cycle here. It took an incident last year to get the quiet upheaval started here. It all came about in a series of events that led to the resignation of Reginald Spindler as service unit director of Sioux San. A faction of Indians had called for his removal.

This new faction called itself "The Steering Committee." During the Sioux San controversy, the committee wavered between the idea of having a protest march or doing what it could within the system. It finally opted against the march but continued its call for Spindler's removal or resignation.

The Steering Committee was something new on the Rapid City Indian scene. For one thing, it was made up mostly of men—-young men, many of them working for college degrees. This was a bit of a departure from the norm for Rapid City Indian organizations. Many of them are made up of elderly women whom Walt Swan, one of the originators of the Steering Committee, said would be "better off playing with knitting needles."

There were a few other things different about the Steering Committee. For one thing it lasted. It's going strong today. It persisted in its demands. It got what it wanted from Public Health Service as far as Sioux San is concerned. Since then it has stayed around to be the thorn in the side of local agencies dealing with Indians. In the meantime, it attracted new members. Most of them were young, like themselves, and they took up the Indian cause for first time in some instances.

"Today," says Muriel Waukazoo, one of two women on the Steering Committee's 14 member executive board and a long-time Indian activist, "I don't think we have to really define our role. The Indians just say I'll go to the Steering Committee and it gets done." Adds Swan: "We've made the Indians aware of the situation and we're responsible for all Indian activities... I mean all of them, whether they're for or against us."

While they recognize the Rapid City Indian community is deeply fragmented and fractionalized, they say all the members of the local Indian community react to the Steering Committee, regardless of pro or con.

As a result of their activity, members of the Steering Committee point to increased Indian involvement on the local level, although they say it still is not what it could be. Here it should be noted that recent governmental policy has been to call for greater Indian participation in their own destiny and institutions. In the fall

of 1968 the Congress unanimously passed a resolution by Sen. George McGovern, D.-S.D., calling for a greater Indian voice in their own affairs. This new direction seemed to go hand in glove with what the activists were demanding.

Make no mistake about it, the militant Indian is here:

"We've localized the national scene," says Walt. "The vocal Indian you see on the national level is here." But Rapid City's vocal Indians weren't greeted with unqualified support or unanimous approval. "They said we were going to bomb the San," Mrs. Waukazoo laughingly referred to efforts to discredit the Steering Committee in its early days. That was but one of the many rumors about the newly formed Indian organization that caused many Indians to shy away from the Steering Committee and its activities.

"We agree with the Steering Committee, but we just can't go along with the way they plan to go about it" was the statement of one of the more prominent local Indian organizations about the time the Steering Committee was involved in the Sioux San hassle. After some investigation, it turned out these leaders of the Indian organization which wanted nothing to do with the Steering Committee didn't want any part of "violence." This was a fairly familiar refrain. Word went out over the Indian grapevine that the Steering Committee was out to burn and loot or worse. What the Steering Committee was doing was debating whether it should hold a protest march to Sioux San. It had already applied for a parade permit and was taking elaborate precautions to assure the peacefulness of the venture.

Although they are pretty sure of how things stand for the present, they aren't too sure of the future. Each side blames the other of exploiting the Indian. The Steering Committee complains the poverty "establishment" is out to get them. They say members of the Community Action Program have taken to the hustings, badmouthing the Steering Committee and trying to put them out of business.

For the Steering Committee, the long range solution is establishing a political and economic base. One will flow from the other. Education will help. There's no doubt there's poverty here, but they question what's being done to combat it. "We've done more for the poor in a year than the Community Action Program has done in four," asserts Walt. "And we've got people here who don't even have radios in their homes. If they don't have a radio, are they getting enough to eat?"

So far the Indian Steering Committee has been working within the system, but they aren't particularly gratified by the response they've received from the Indian and part of the white community. Every indication is that they will continue to work within the system, but there are signs of discouragement.

"Our country was born on dissent and revolution, but they're trying to suppress dissent on the national level," says Walt.

"What gets me," he continued, "is that when a member of the dominant society speaks his mind, he's called a distinguished, outspoken young man. They call the Indians 'militants' and try to suppress them. The other factions say we can't handle responsible jobs. That may be true because we've never been given the chance."

American Indians: The Real American Revolution

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by WILLIAM BRANDON

A YOUNG Indian girl in Berkeley told me that in saying goodbye to her old-fashioned parents—her mother in blanket and high moccasins, her father in sober tall black sombrero—she had felt she was leaving them as far behind as on another planet, because she was becoming a "catalyst of rebellion" in the Third World Liberation Front. Yet the objectives she would fight for with the TWLF—more money, better jobs, even the grand objective of seizing power, were the usual and proper aims of the apple-pie American world. Her tribal parents, inhabiting a world of truly different dimensions, uninterested in proper American values, not even interested in seizing power, were, it seemed to me, the real revolutionaries of her family, absorbed in an authentic revolutionary movement: their Indian community.

The radical character of the Indian world is most easily discernible in its sense of community, a community identity originally founded on the custom of communal ownership: ownership of land in common by a related group of people is one of the few traits that might be applied sweepingly to nearly all American Indians throughout the hemisphere. This community superlife, based on a communal ownership still frequently in evidence, is the unique quality of the Indian world. It is an attitude truly revolutionary for our present world, which rather derives from the Old World kingship pattern—public domain regarded as the property of a ruling government apparatus, a notion prevailing in most modern states, socialist or Communist included.

In the true communal ownership of Indian tradition, each member of the community has an "absolute and complete" right of actual ownership, as the U.S. Court of Claims held in an 1893 opinion later sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court. "Chiefs and headmen" have no authority to dispose of these rights, and even a majority of the tribe or community has no authority to sell the communal property, which would seem to constitute, said the Court, "taking away the property of the minority and disposing of it without their consent."

The communal point of view has always been difficult for the private-ownership mentality to grasp. The 1893 Court remarked that this difficulty was no doubt at the bottom of "many of our troubles with the Indian tribes." It still is. It is the alienness of this communal identity that elicits much of our harassment (conscious and unconscious) of the Indian world, that puts Indian children at odds with our schools, and that fires the pressures for "termination" of Federal protection of Indian groups with the ultimate objective of forcing the collapse of the Indian communities, compelling their people to disperse and, at last, to become "assimilated" in our own competitive culture.

Although Indian leaders, too, give lip service to the pious aims of more money and better jobs, these are ac-

ceptable only on the Indian community's terms. The people of an Indian community generally will not sell out for individual opportunities no matter how alluring, will undergo any privations to remain part of their living community. The community superlife, calling for inter-personal harmony rather than inter-personal striving, is in absolute opposition to the orthodox American gods of work-as-a-virtue and amassing personal wealth as the measure of success.

"Nor have I been able to learn," wrote Columbus of the first New World people he met, "whether they held personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took shares of. . ." Even after nearly five centuries of acculturation in the profit motive, much of this quaint tendency still survives in the depths of the Indian spirit. Vestiges of it may be seen now and then on the surface: In the spring of 1969 a Wisconsin jury found a city-dwelling Ojibwa Indian not guilty of auto theft for the temporary appropriation of another city-Indian's car, after hearing testimony on the Indian tradition of communal property.

The Indian world does not preach its revolutionary ideology. It would for the most part recoil in embarrassment from anything like the New Left's aggressive self-righteousness. It is usually so indrawn as to seem occult and secretive. But even without proselytizing, the long-run redskin revolution may well have changed the world, already, more than might be supposed, by the mere example of the Indian presence, with its seeming classlessness and freedom from toil and tyranny. Rousseau and Marx and Engels, among others, made specific acknowledgment of its influence. Today's hippies, now a world-wide fifth column, profess in words and costume their vision of the revolutionary Indian community. The "correctness" of the vision is immaterial; what counts is the reality of the tension the Indian influence can still bring to bear against the majority morality.

Will we, can we, permit this revolutionary world to go on ticking away in our midst? The obvious response is that of course we can and of course we should—we should, in fact, do everything in our power to aid its sur-

"... even without proselytizing, the long-run redskin revolution may well have changed the world . . ."

vival. The continuing Indian revolution is essential to the health of our own world in more ways than one: not only in providing our democracy with the oxygen of a truly alien presence, but in keeping alive that heartbeat of community so strong in the Indian world, so feeble in our own, so necessary, possibly, to the survival of us all.

But is communication already choked off between the two worlds, red and white? Has the Indian world

already been shattered beyond repair. If not, what then can citizens of good will and concern do to help?

I think communication is wide open, for anyone who will lend an ear and a voice. The Indian world won't preach but it loves conversation. The bitterness that has come into being between black and white is not generally echoed between red and white—at least not yet. The one thing he knows about white men, says James Baldwin, is that they do not want to be black; but this is not so true as to red and never has been. In some areas a certain cachet has always attached to being an Indian, and too many non-red Americans still listen with romantic longing to the distant Indian drum and "yearn with tenderness for its days calm and innocent," as Rousseau wrote two hundred years ago.

So what exactly can we do? We can help in many ways, some easy, some hard. It is often hard to ascertain the actual intent of public measures relating to Indian affairs. Actual aims, as in any political dealings, are often painstakingly masked, and in any case Indian matters are a foreign land not easy to know. But an inquiry to an Indian organization such as the National Congress of American Indians (1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) or an Indian-related organization such as the Association on American Indian Affairs (475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027) will bring inside information on any current issue. One can then easily enough make known his support for public measures helpful to Indian communities, honestly meant to be helpful in relieving the all but unendurable privation the quiet revolutionaries there have endured generation after generation; or make known opposition to those measures offering help with booby-traps attached or aiming directly at the destruction of Indian communities, such as drives for "termination."

Hardest of all acts of assistance is one that is a mere act of thought, or maybe spirit: simply realizing that the Indian community is genuinely alien, and accepting it as such.

The Indian world has by no means been shattered beyond repair, notwithstanding Sunday supplement obituaries. It is very much alive—miraculously so, perhaps, but nevertheless so—even in the United States, where only about one per cent of the full-blooded Indians of the hemisphere live.

It is not only alive, it is, here and there, potentially strong and even potentially rich. Alaskan oil is the headline loot of the moment, and battle lines are being drawn to determine what will be either the biggest windfall or the biggest steal in the history of our generously looted native peoples. The issue, in its simplest terms, is whether the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska will enjoy royalties even as would you and I if we were the owners of their lands, or whether they will be squeezed off with less than a fair price. The difference could run into billions—even the Government's minimum first offer runs to half a billion or so. Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, with an impressive record of brutally squeezing Eskimos while he was governor of Alaska, is in charge of the Nixon Administration's maneuvers in this caper, which is undoubtedly the major Indian concern of the Ad-

ministration. But the Alaska Federation of Natives is employing heavy-weight legal counsel, and the natives have some determined supporters; the Association on American Indian Affairs, for one, is budgeting a six-figure expenditure for an advertising campaign intended to spread the full story before the public.

Other Indian riches are in strategic lands, other subsurface rights, and, especially, water rights. The Crow Tribe in Montana claims a little matter of fifty-five miles of the Big Horn River. The Shoshones claim another stretch of the same river above them, in Wyoming. There are a number of such treasure troves of Indian water, particularly in the West. Indian water rights are almost the last such rights still undeveloped, in many cases are already quite valuable, and in some cases will become of almost incalculable value. As a consequence they are tempting many a reflective eye.

A new revolutionary conflict could be shaping up here, from the collision of Indian concepts of nature with the multiple-use concept that is so firmly established in all our affairs. Multi-purpose use is as sacred to the U.S. Forest Service, for example, as Smokey the Bear—"YOUR NATIONAL FOREST, LAND OF MANY USES." Can this praiseworthy philosophy be in error? The Taos Indians of New Mexico argue that it certainly can be, and base their argument on claims of sacredness that considerably antedate Smokey the Bear and the U.S. Forest Service and, for that matter, the United States itself.

Taos Pueblo, which in current archaeological opinion has been in business at the same location since at least 900-1100 A.D., sits at the foot of mountains containing regions regarded as sacred by the Taos people; especially sacred are the slopes of spruce and fir providing the watershed for the little river, the Rio Pueblo, that furnishes the pueblo's water.

Blue Lake, a perfect-circle mountain lake where the Rio Pueblo has its source, is the most holy shrine of all. The little river brings life for all living things within its dominion; all life in its area, including the life of the pueblo and its people, is interlocked in a religious unity that must not be disturbed, and this unity must be observed and preserved by regular ceremonies in the Blue Lake forests that have been followed since—say the Taosenos—the beginning of time.

These sacred Blue Lake lands were included in a national forest preserve in 1906 under the erroneous assumption that they were public lands. The Indian Claims Commission ruled in 1965 that Taos Pueblo was indeed the rightful owner of the Blue Lake country, and the pueblo was offered compensation, as is customary in Indian claims cases. But the Taos people want the land, not money. It is the place that is sacred, not its value.

The Forest Service, in line with its basic multiple-use approach, is entirely amenable to the Taos people using the land for religious purposes, among other multi-purposes. The Forest Service has even tried to placate the Indians with special-use permits. But the Indians want no outsiders at all multiple-using in any way their Blue Lake country. They want their mountain church returned wholly and exclusively to them, and have been saying so with Pueblo patience and stubbornness for more than half a century.

The Forest Service, encouraged by various groups of "sportsmen," has

This is the concluding installment of Mr. Brandon's three-part presentation on the American Indian. The author of The American Heritage Book of Indians, Mr. Brandon has conducted experimental courses on the original inhabitants of North America at the University of Massachusetts. He visited scores of reservations throughout the nation in preparing his series of articles for The Progressive. His travels and researches were financed in great measure by the Fund for Investigative Journalism of Washington, D.C.

—THE EDITORS

been equally tenacious in fighting to hold onto the Blue Lake lands. Public users of the Blue Lake special-permit area, which takes in most of the 48,000 acres involved in the Taos demand, are not numerous—an average of forty non-Indians a year enter this region, by Forest Service records—but

"The Indian world does not preach its revolutionary ideology."

they can be vociferous. The sportsmen and the Forest Service clearly see themselves as defenders of the faith of multiple-use against the heresy of exclusive use desired by "these Indians."

At a meeting of the Taos Pueblo Council I asked what concessions they might ever consider in the way of multiple-use for the Blue Lake area. None at all, said the council members. Except for their secret religious ceremonies they wanted the entire area left untouched, subject to proper conservation practices that would be carried out by the Department of the Interior as trustee for the lands. Beyond this, said the blanket-wrapped councilmen, only such multiple-use as their lands might receive at the hands of the Creator.

But the associate chief of the U.S. Forest Service testified before a Congressional committee with equal earnestness that in his belief the Taos people would have reasonable freedom to pursue their religion within the Forest Service framework of multiple-use, including planned commercial timber "harvesting," increased short-term visitor use, and range management for increased livestock use involving the division of the whole area into cross-fenced sub-units.

In general, where Indian resources and particularly water rights are concerned, some experts feel that the typical American multiple-use concept will be all but confiscatory, if Indian communities consent to sell out for participation in the big-bankroll water-development programs now tooling up. There are huge projects of this sort—the Four Corners Project in the Navajo country is one example, including a planned model city that will cost a billion dollars. Many of these projects depend entirely on the prospect of buying Indian water rights for a questionable bowl of multiple-use pottage.

The point is that multiple-use is basically catch-as-catch-can utilitarian. Each resource is milked for whatever it may provide. In California, showcase for all our newest ills, Santa Barbara Channel may be used for recreation, fishing, commercial shipping, and oil-drilling too. In such free-wheeling operations, the top-dollar profit usually grows the biggest muscles. Pasadena's tourist business, worth millions, died in refinery smog, worth more millions. Indian rights, in such fast company, would be hopelessly overmatched. But can they hang aloof? A particular property right comes in question, the right to delay development of a given resource or even to reject outright any multi-purpose uses offered, a right that may reach as far afield from utilitarianism as esthetics or religion.

The only real opposition to multiple-use as it is presently practiced lies in a notion dear to conservationists and wild-eyed old socialists—total planning, planning that deals with the total environment, with all resources, for the total benefit of the total world, not just on a piecemeal utilitarian basis.

There are forces of some strength

gathering to fight for this different world—forces concerned over growing populations, growing pollution, growing greed, growing strife. It is possible that in the United States this great debate could open, within the next few years, over the legal question of Indian water rights.

The whole spectrum of differences between an Indian community in action and a non-Indian community in action would repay the most serious large-scale study. Newly evolving forms of tribal government, usually including closed-membership corporations or reasonable facsimiles thereof, may bear resemblances now and then to white corporations—the same investment counselors and tax counselors may be hired by both—but in essence they are novel structures because they are built on foundations that are different, alien, foundations shaped by the tradition of communal ownership.

Most concrete Indian successes are realized in group terms—tribal cattle herds, or the communal big business of recreation on some reservations, such as the \$1.5 million complex being built by the Crows in Montana, at Yellowtail Dam on the Bighorn. Or spectacularly in land: The financial renaissance within no more than ten years of the Cheyenne River Sioux in South Dakota (they now operate, among other things, a cattle business, sales pavilion, supermarket, and their own telephone company serving Indians and non-Indians in two counties)

"The Indian world won't preach but it loves conversation."

grew mainly from initial successes with a tribal land-consolidation program. The Tribal Land Enterprise agency of the Rosebud Sioux in South Dakota buys land at a rate reaching a quarter-million dollars a year, and the land-consolidation program of the Crows has reached a half-million dollars' worth a year.

But these occasional successes have barely made a dent in the massive Indian poverty described in the first of these articles. The much-publicized project of bringing industry to the reservations has made another dent, somewhat offset by the fact that the main pitch to industry has been low capital cost and cheap labor, scarcely conducive to blue-chip deals; and even seamier considerations have appeared here and there, as in current efforts to thrust a giant paper mill upon Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, so as to sidestep anti-pollution rules set up by the state (Indian land isn't subject to state control!).

It will take more than dents to remedy reservation poverty—it will take a solid breakthrough in giving back to the Indian communities sufficient land to live on. At present, the process is still going the wrong direction: Indian lands and resources are still being whittled away. Land-consolidation operations financed by the Indians themselves cannot possibly fill the required bill. The nation simply needs to honor its given word in securing to the Indian communities a livable land base. Nothing less will work.

In the same way, if the destruction of the Indian world and its children by misfit education is to cease, Indian education must be oriented to the Indian community, as the second article in this series tried to demonstrate.

Indian control, or even supervisory participation, is also an urgent need in reservation development, including any industrial development. Colonialism dies hard—there is still a feeling in the business world that the lion's

share of Indian resources, whether human, vegetable, or mineral, should go to the white raj. Ronnie Lupe, tribal council chairman of the White Mountain Apaches, was pilloried by all non-Indian Arizona in the spring of 1969 for standing firm against a multi-million dollar proposition that did not give the Apaches as much control as they wanted. He told me that he and the council had decided they should not take any deal in which the tribe did not have eighty per cent ownership. This is a high-spirited figure. Most deals are considerably closer to zero percentage in Indian ownership.

But ownership entails risk and maneuverability, which Indian communities, in their mummy-wrappings of Bureau of Indian Affairs red tape, can seldom offer—and when they do, they are often, at least at first, as lambs in a world of wolves. The Crows dropped nearly half a million of their own money in their first venture, an electric-toothbrush factory—located within cannon shot of the Custer battlefield—but have since been doing all right. The Navajos are a well known example of hardnosed success and home-owned to boot—their portfolio contains quite a list of diversified ownerships, including, as a sort of ultimate in something, the Navajo Tribe's own credit card.

When it comes to legislation on Indian matters, Indian opinion is politely asked and regularly ignored. The so-called Indian Civil Rights amendment, tacked onto the 1968 Civil Rights Bill, is already back for repairs embodying recommendations a number of Indian witnesses had urged during six years of committee hearings. The subject is of much importance to the Indian world. On the one hand, civil rights represents a constant danger area in tribal life; group identity easily comes into conflict with individual liberties, and the more "successful," the more powerful the tribal administration, the greater the danger that authoritarianism may take over and run wild. On the other hand, the white raj, chronically hostile to the whole idea of group identity, would be not at all displeased to destroy it in the name of civil rights, a splendid new weapon in the assimilation arsenal.

The one point on which all Indians and experts are agreed is that Indians must have more voice in their own affairs—especially in handling their own money. Money earned by an Indian community, from leases or whatever, is customarily paid into the U.S. Treasury and then returned via a maze of red tape, and beribboned with controls, to the Indian community. Funds appropriated to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Indian benefit travel a labyrinth wilder still. The regulations, the restrictions, the line-by-line reporting, the delays, the frustrations cultured among conscientious BIA people as well as among the Indian victims, attain without doubt some of the finest triumphs of bureaucracy in our time.

Tragedies, real and unnecessary tragedies, are a commonplace in the Indian world as a direct result of this situation. In the summer of 1969 a drought ruined grazing and caught the Papagos, in southern Arizona, short of feed for their tribal herd. This is not an unheard-of occurrence in that desert country, and the average cattleman obtains emergency funds for buying hay and rides it through—but emergency funds for Indians have to be untangled from red tape.

More than 500 head of Indian cattle had died of starvation before the "paper processing" for emergency help even got started. For the total herd of

12,000 head, some 1,200 bales of low grade hay a day were needed, which, at \$3.25 a bale, about twice the normal price, was far beyond anything the Papagos, who are among the poorest Indians in the country, could scrape up out of their own ready cash. The tribe had coming, however, a check for some three million dollars from copper-mining interests in connection with the opening of a \$100 million copper mine on the reservation. This check was due to arrive at any moment—but of course it could not be drawn against in advance.

Meanwhile, officials conferred on emergency measures. One procedure resulted in an official request from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture to declare the tribe eligible for the Federal free feed grain program—to the bitter amusement of all cow-country people, who knew range cattle would not eat grain to begin with, and cows weakened by starvation could not handle rich grain even if they would eat it. Even so, such grain might have been traded locally for hay, although not by regulation-shackled Indians.

And so, throughout July and August, the cattle died, bringing far-reaching hardship for those Indian families dependent on stock-raising as their only means of livelihood. The overall loss in cattle before the drought and the nightmare ended in early September was some 2,000 head.

On September 13 the tribe received, in proper form through the proper channels, the copper check—\$3.7 million.

The need, obviously, is for a thorough revision of the ungainly regulations under which the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates. It is necessary to repeat—again—that a solution is *not* the abolition of the BIA, which would mean termination. The BIA is absolutely essential as a trustee and protector of Indian rights and possessions, and should be strengthened as such.

Indian communities deeply need a strong Federal agency conserving and guarding their interests against other governmental agencies and powerful predators from the "private sector," but that protection surely does not need to extend to a minute interference in the communities' own internal operations. BIA weaknesses in stance and procedural rules are at least in some part the result of deliberate intent to cripple on the part of hostile Congressional committees, and will be repaired only by a struggle that could last a long time. But there is no reason whatever that Indian communities should not at once receive and control directly all their own funds, and the operational portion of Federal funds appropriated for Indian-related purposes, as Federal grants of whatever kind to towns and cities and counties are normally administered by the recipient community itself.

This, as with the substance of each of these three articles, deals with ideas that might be expressed as brief definite proposals. The three paramount ones can be summed up:

One—Restoration of lands and resources sufficient for present Indian populations.

Two—Direct Indian control of Indian schools.

Three—Direct Indian control of Indian funds, public as well as tribal.

The world of Indian communities is a world worth keeping with us. We are solemnly obligated, by treaties sworn on the heads of our fathers, to sustain it in our midst, but in all likelihood the obligation is of less import than the long-time yield we may be returned. The Indian has a property in the moon, Thoreau said, and he did not mean astronomically; the real business of the Indian revolution may turn out to be the illumination of the dark side of the soul, maybe even our own.

ROY BONGARTZ

Mr. Bongartz, author of *Twelve Chases on West 99th Street* (Houghton Mifflin), has been a radio announcer, education adviser, reporter and, for many years, a *Nation* contributor. He has recently visited extensively among the Indians of New York State and eastern Canada.

Q: Who told you that all Indians are like warts and the only way you can get rid of them is burn them off?

A: A man in Vermillion.

The questioner in the above exchange was Boyd M. Benson, chairman of the Board of Pardons and Paroles for the state of South Dakota. Replying was a newspaper man. The remarks came in a hearing in the South Dakota state penitentiary last winter on commutation of a death sentence that had been passed on an 18-year-old Rosebud Sioux convicted of murder — Thomas White Hawk. The many Indians who testified, hoping to save White Hawk, went far beyond the facts of the case to reach into the troubling mysteries in the never stabilized identity of the Indian in a racist white world.

First of all, the facts. White Hawk, a freshman at the University of South Dakota, believing he had been sold a faulty engagement ring, got drunk with a fellow student one night in March 1967, and at dawn broke into the house of the jeweler and shot him twice with a .22 rifle. He hit the man on the head with a skillet and put a pan of blood in the oven of the kitchen stove. He turned the pictures so that they faced the walls, then tied the jeweler's wife to her bed and raped her. He spent the day lying on a sofa, crying and trying to sleep. Police found him in the house that evening, hiding in a closet under a pile of clothes. On the advice of a court-assigned lawyer, White Hawk pleaded guilty to premeditated murder, and on January 15, 1968, Circuit Judge James Bandy sentenced him to die in the electric chair.

The 40,000 Sioux in South Dakota saw the death sentence, which has not been carried out in the state for more than twenty years, as an example of cruel white man's vengeance upon an Indian obviously suffering from mental illness. White Hawk had been a brilliant scholarship student and record-setting athlete in his last year at prep school, but then had been hit in the head by a shot-put, suffered personality changes, and dropped to the foot of his class. The Indians believed that in neglecting to tell the judge of this accident, White Hawk showed a fatalistic, suicidal hopelessness in the face of the white man's authority that typified the alienation of them all. Protesting the execution, the Sioux poured out, one after another, the pain they suffer in the limbo between a nearly destroyed aboriginal civilization and a modern society that won't quite let them in.

Said Melvin Tom, representing one Indian group: "It is an injustice that has come about because of the relationship between Indians and whites. White Hawk's case is like many others: once confined and tried under the law, many of us find it easier to say: We give up and we will submit to the penalty, with more of a suicide nature, and to get the thing over with, rather than to fight. They say, I have done it, do with me what you want to do with me. You have always done what you want to with us anyway."

Then the State's Attorney asked, "But they are not mentally ill, are they?" Tom replied, "I would think of them as mentally ill while they are in the state they are."

Chairman Benson told a girl named Twilo Martin, representing an Indian student group, that as a boy he had played with Indians, "and we never had any trouble." She replied, "O.K., so I played with a lot of white kids, but that doesn't make us the same. Just because we played with one another doesn't make us equal. You can take a child, and he goes to school and learns about middle-class Dick and Jane, and goes home and takes a look at maybe his drunk mom or dad, and he starts seeing them as the whites see them." Then when the children are taken away to missionary schools and see their parents months later, "they have to go through this whole period again of getting used to their parents."

State's Attorney Charles Wolsky asked Miss Martin if she didn't agree that Indians and whites should be judged by the same standards. She replied: "Right, but you see, there is one other thing that confuses me a little bit; the fact I think in order to be equal, first they are going to have to find out who the heck they are." Said Wolsky: "While they are finding out who the heck they are, is society supposed to suffer?" Miss Martin replied, "Well, I think society has suffered for a long time already, so I don't suppose, by one death, it is going to ease the pain of it that much."

Rev. Philip Allen, minister of an Episcopal church with an Indian congregation in Sioux City, tried to put the White Hawk case into perspective: "I can see in Tom and what has happened to him the same kind of thing that happens to a great many of our Indian young people. Fortunately not too many of them ever find themselves in the position Tom is in, but they are having trouble, and I see Tom's life as being an example of what happens too often to our Indian young people. I see his life as being a series of adjustments." An Indian newspaper man, Gerald Vizenor, said: "Tom was involved in a conflict of his own identity, his own unconscious life of Indian identity, and his pursuit of the dominant white society. I saw it in myself. I saw it in many other Indian people, the sense of culture schizophrenia,

in that the very society which creates the sickness in which Indians have had to live for 150 years is the society which now every day becomes a doctor, tries to solve their problems."

The Indians' charge that the severity of the sentence came out of racial hatred grew louder in the months that White Hawk spent alone on death row. Said Vizenor: "I have one distinct advantage over an Indian who has dark skin. I can communicate to white people without admitting at first I am Indian. People spoke to me as if they were going to inform me as another white person of the Indian problems. I found a great deal of prejudice. In fact, it was rare that I didn't find a racist attitude toward Indians in this state."

The board was advised to look for a message in the silence of the Indians. Vizenor said: "Indians express themselves far more silently about these matters. They don't form committees, ordinarily, and sign petitions. I think this board should in some way try to discover what that feeling is. Indians have largely been left out of all these experiences, such simple things as being on school boards or participating in campaigns . . . These are not really Indian experiences. Their experiences have been dismal rejection and compromises from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The only way most Indians make it is to leave the reservations and do as Tom White Hawk did. He wanted to be a doctor, wanted to have a dream to be like Ben Riefel and Oscar Howe and Ramon Roubideaux, and all three of these men can say the same thing — that they wouldn't want to live on the reservation. They wouldn't want to go through that kind of life again. They want to be white, because being white is being accepted, and having some measure of personal power. But not all Indians can make it, and when they don't, the failures are dismal. They are terrible failures. But, no effort is made to understand these failures, no effort."

One of his Indian classmates at the University of South Dakota, Mary Pat Cooney, told the board that White Hawk had, during his first semester, changed from a self-assured, conscientious student to a near dropout. "Tom was extremely quiet, and kind of a stick-to-it-ive person. He had self-assurance, or something inward that drew you to him." Later, when he had changed, "he didn't look at you and say Hi. He was like, well, any of the other Indian students on campus; rather shy and withdrawn, and with a kind of look-at-your-feet way. I think it's difficult at the university to be an Indian, because you just don't quite fit. The majority of the Indian students stick together, eat together, run around together, pal around together, everything. But Tom broke away. He joined a fraternity house and he went out in the white society, as you call it at the university,



Blue Cloud Abbey Ponders Mission Control

MARVIN (AP) — The Benedictine missionaries of Blue Cloud Abbey decided this week to consider the possibility of turning over control of four Dakota missions to the Indian people of the missions.

Abbot Alan, president of the mission corporations located in Marty and Stephan, S. D., and in Belcourt and St. Michael, N. D., said he and the other Benedictine monks of Blue Cloud Abbey "recognize the present desire of the Indian people for self-determination."

"We are also aware of their natural rights and acquired ability to so determine their affairs," Abbot Alan said. "Therefore, we wish to enter into positive discussions with all parties concerned as to the feasibility of a gradual turnover of our mission corporations to the Indian people."

Abbot Alan said a date of 1975 has been tentatively set for the turnover, and that the monks

"only wish to retain the administration of our churches, the preaching of the gospel and works of charity."

He said, "We have worked among the Indian people many years, and have built and administered our so-called Indian missions."

"These missions," he said, "now represent an investment of millions of dollars, and are well-established and well-staffed."

However, Abbot Alan said, "Over all this period of time these have been our missions, incorporated as such in the name of Blue Cloud Benedictines."

"We believe it is time to change this situation," he said. "We are ready to give our full assistance to make of Stephan, Marty, Belcourt and St. Michael's whatever the Indian people think best for their communities."

Blue Cloud Abbey is located near Marvin, about 15 miles west of Milbank.

and they would almost accept him, but there was still this little stipulation that you are not quite like us. Then he would come back, and you would see him running around with some of the Indian kids for a while. But still, if you go out in the white society too much, and you come back to the Indian, you are no longer accepted, from the mere fact that you broke away. I think this causes a lot of frustration. I know it has in me. I know it must have in Tom. I think this is the main problem. If the Indian students stick together they are completely shunned, and if they try to go out, they are hit with all kinds of barriers and other frustrations that do not face normal students." Another student, a member of an Indian club at the university, named Lula Red Cloud, said, "I am called a squaw when I walk down the halls; I get a big war whoop when I walk into a class."

Besides their protest that White Hawk's head injury and his "cultural breakdown" had not been presented as evidence, the Indians also claimed that the lawyer assigned to him was inexperienced in criminal law, and had falsely told him that his only possible plea was to premeditated murder. But the Indians felt white sentiment hardening against White Hawk. A representative of the American Indian Civil Liberties Council, Robert Burnett, testified: "A lot of people seeking revenge against the Indians may say, 'Well, we hope he burns.' I've heard this." Such an attitude was typified by a letter to the *Rapid City Journal* from a Belvidere rancher, Baxter Berry, who wrote: "I can see no reason why White Hawk shouldn't pay for his crime with his life — or anybody else that commits similar crimes. It seems to me we should be thinking about the law — abiding citizens. Our laws should be for the benefit of the majority. You don't have to do these terrible things that are in the news every day, no one forces you. I know one thing: whether you are human or animal you are born with a strong will to preserve your life. You don't mind taking a chance if you think you won't get killed. These 'bleeding hearts,' as Bishop Sheen described them, might feel different if persons such as White Hawk and a horde of others came into their homes."

This letter of Berry's was prophetic in a way that struck an old terror into the Indians, because Berry, the son of former South Dakota Governor Tom Berry, on March 21, 1969, himself shot and killed an unarmed Rosebud Sioux Indian named Norman Little Brave. And while White Hawk still languished on death row, a coroner's jury in White River declared the killing to be "non-felonious," meaning that Berry was out free. Finally the dead man's widow, Florence, charged Berry with murdering her husband, and Berry went on trial in September. Berry admitted shooting Little Brave twice with his pistol, saying he was afraid of the Indian because of bad feeling arising out of the Indian's dogs having chased the rancher's cattle. Berry, who had the top legal defense in the state, was found not guilty by an all-white jury of ten women and two men. Since Berry ranch land is on Indian territory, the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council had tried to cancel Berry's lease after the killing. A councilman said, "If we don't put our foot down, there'll be an open season on Indians." But the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in Washington, denied the Indians the right to cancel the lease, so Berry still has his ranch land. After the acquittal, an Indian writing in the *Rosebud Sioux Herald* compared Berry's case with that of White Hawk: "Two Indians for one white man? Or are they going to give White Hawk a retrial and acquit him also? Until this happens, there isn't one Indian in South Dakota who is safe, because tomorrow the value of the Indian may change from two to three Indians for one white man . . ."

The facts in South Dakota show that Indian fears are well-founded. Rapid City attorney James Abourezk cites the case of an Indian jailed in Hot Springs after a car crash; he died two days later of injuries. He also notes, in Hot Springs, the shooting of an Indian driver who was speeding. And in the town of Oelrichs, says the lawyer, an Indian was kicked to death by a deputy while an officer watched. He adds: "The stories that reached me concerning these events were almost impossible to believe until the conclusion of my investigation."

On October 24, South Dakota Gov. Frank Farrar commuted White Hawk's sentence to life imprisonment, recommending against any future parole or pardon, on grounds of the Indian's "tragic social environment," as well as "serious questions as to the mental condition of the defendant." A week later, the Governor received a letter, postmarked Brookings, denouncing the commutation, and threatening sabotage of the Governor's airplane, and physical injury to his wife. Meanwhile the handsome, square-jawed White Hawk spends his time in the penitentiary, painting oils and writing poetry; a sample of this is "The Confused People," which reads, in part:

*He begins to descend the slope again his home
But in the process, stumbles along the pathway.
But he makes it safely. He sets himself down for rest.
However, he immediately has to roam
Again. But what makes him restless to go that way?*

As for the Indians, the newly elected tribal president of the Rosebud Sioux, Rev. Webster Two Hawk, stated that the reaction on the reservation was "thankfulness."

savages killed, not Indians

By MIKE HARRIS
R-S Staff Writer

"The relationship between the white man and the red man was doomed from the start."

And, according to N. Scott Momaday, Pulitzer Prize-winning Kiowa Indian novelist and professor of English and comparative literature at the University of California at Berkeley:

"The white man succeeded in killing the savage without entirely killing the Indian."

Momaday delivered a packed and polished lecture at Shasta College Thursday night. He stated that European settlers were predisposed to "civilize the Indian or exterminate him."

Spanish and French colonists allowed the Indian some role in the colonizing process, he said, but the English "could concede no use to the Indian."

Momaday led up to an examination of the Indian's contemporary dilemma by recalling the history of his own tribe.

At its peak, the tribe roamed over a thousand miles of the Southwest.

Momaday said the allotment act of 1887, in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs subdivided reservations, gave each member of the tribe a plot to hand down to his descendants, and sold the "surplus" land to whites, resulted in the loss of 100 million acres of Indian land by 1933.

By the turn of the century, he said, it had become clear that white "civilization" had failed to benefit the Indian.

Momaday said White attitudes since World War II have shifted from pity for the Indian's plight to impatience with him for failing to become assimilated into the larger culture.

He said the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation program has been a failure.

Indians leave the reservations only to find that they can't cope with urban life.

They haven't mastered English, they are subject to discrimination, and the heritage of defeat cripples them.

About 50 per cent of relocated Indians return, disillusioned, to the reservation, Momaday said.

"The failure of the program resides in the assumption upon which it is based—that the Indian becomes a white man by living with white men."

"A sense of tribalism is growing rapidly among young Indian people," he noted approvingly. He added that members of various tribes are beginning to find common ground as Indians.

He called the occupation of Alcatraz symbolic of a "pan-Indian movement."

After the lecture, Momaday fielded questions from the large and sympathetic audience.

"I applaud it," he said when asked his opinion of the hippie movement with its tribal aspects, its concern with ecology and its emphasis on the simple life.

He said the world's other peoples, faced with a common problem of survival, had much to learn from the Indian, the "premier ecologist," whose relationship with the land was harmonious rather than destructive.

Another spectator asked the dark-suited, horn-rimmed Momaday whether he could survive if the electricity were turned off.

His answer drew cheers: "I would not only survive—I would prevail."

April 10, 1970.

Redding (Calif.) Record-Searchlight

Seattle Post-Intelligencer
11 S. Thurt., May 7, 1970

Puyallup Indians Void U.S. Warpath

The Puyallup Indian Tribe has passed a resolution declaring it unlawful for the United States to draft or conscript any member of the "sovereign Puyallup Tribe" into military duty.

The Tribal Council cited the Treaty of Medicine Creek of 1854 which commits the tribe to "make no depredations against the United States" but at the same time commits the government to protect the tribe.

The Puyallup Tribal Council points out that the treaty does not commit the Indians to defend or protect the United States against those it defines as its enemies.

A Puyallup Indian, David J. Matheson, yesterday claimed exemption under the new tribal ordinance from induction into the Army.

Matheson contended that the Medicine Creek Treaty would prevent a Puyallup Indian from acting as a member of any military service, such as the National Guard, to quell any civil disturbance within the territory of the U.S. against other U.S. citizens.

The treaty prohibits the Indians from "making war" except in self-defense.

Matheson's claim to exemption contends that Indians did not gain citizenship in the U.S. along with other populations in 1868 with the passage of the 14th Amendment on the political and judicial grounds that they were born into citizenship and allegiance to their respective tribes and not to the U.S.

Matheson told Local Draft Board Number 13:

"It is this allegiance to Indian people and to the political sovereignty of the Puyallup Tribe that I am disposed to claim and follow today. By birth and birth-right I owe such allegiance and it shall largely determine my commitments in life."

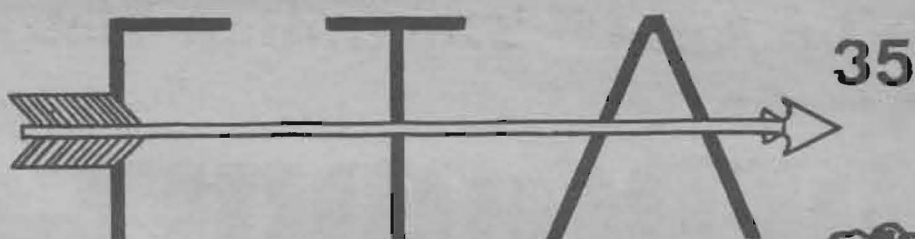
Gill-Netting Count Beaten By Indians

A 20-year-old Tacoma Indian was found innocent in Justice Court Tuesday of a charge that he had illegally used a gill net to catch game fish.

Charles A. Cantrell, of 3818 E. Arlington Drive, a member of the Puyallup tribe, was charged with offense Jan. 2 after a state Game Department officer arrested him on the Puyallup River fishing for steelhead with a net.

In his decision, Judge Willard Hedlund said the state failed to prove beyond doubt that its ban on gill-netting was necessary for fish conservation in the river.

Judge Hedlund said that similar gill-netting by the Nisqually tribe apparently had not emptied the Nisqually River of its supply of steelhead.



Route #1, Box 709
Yelm, Wash. 98597



If our people fight one tribe at a time, all will be killed. They can cut off our fingers one by one, but if we join together we will make a powerful fist.

Little Turtle, Master General
of the Miami Indians, 1791

HEW-KECAW-NA-YO (TO RESIST)

My Lai - Wounded Knee - My Lai - Sand Creek

The winning of the West meant the Genocide of the American Indian. The winning of Vietnam means the Genocide of the Vietnamese. The forthcoming U.S. Army court-martial trial of William L. Calley Jr. on charges of premeditated murder in connection with the alleged massacre of 109 South Vietnamese civilians at My Lai village could well serve as a reminder to Americans that in their own frontier West, White men were responsible for numerous mass slayings of Indian men, women, and children.

The statement by Senator Mark Hatfield, Oregon: "There is a collective guilt that all of us must share and...we, as a people, have helped create and perpetuate this situation." Senator Hatfield was speaking of the My Lai massacre and although 100 years late, he told a truth of the attempted genocide of the American Indian, who were also massacred.

The struggle for the possession of the American West contains accounts of how the U.S. Army massacred the American Indian. One of these accounts is the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. The Colorado Militia Company under the command of Col. J.M. Chivington attacked a quiet Cheyenne Village in Colorado. The accounts of the massacre are recounted in the book entitled "Minority of One" Sept. 1965. Five to six-hundred Indian men, women and children were murdered. The Militia spared no one, not a single Indian was left alive. Recounts of the battle, "I did not see a body that was not scalped or mutilated. In many instances, Indian women's breasts and public hairs were cut off and soldiers of the U.S. Army were using them for their personal display of amusement and victory." Another instance is the Massacre of Wounded Knee. The 7th Cavalry lines the Sioux Indian men, women, and children before a large trench and proceeded to shoot them in mass. This tactic was later to be perfected by the SS. Recounts of the massacre are to be found in the book "300 Years of

Racism" by Donald M. Blevestom.

The reason for the genocide of the American Indian was the Greed for more land and more gold. No regard for the needs of the Indian people were considered because savages are not human and as a consequence do not have rights to human needs. The reason for the My Lai Massacre is for the GODS of the American way of life, Power and Money. The big corporations that have the contracts with the military are not interested in stopping the war, so it continues. As the war continues so does the psychological and physical stress that the soldier must face each day out in the rice paddies of Vietnam. Stress that forces men to decapitate and massacre Vietnamese as though they were not human but savages. So the Greed changes from Land and Gold to Power and Money. So people are called savages again, so massacres and mutilation of the savages occurs again.

How long must the poor fight for the rich? How long must people be killed by the Armies under control of the rich?

AUTHOR: PV2 Deni Leonard, B Trp, 1/3 ACR, Ft. Lewis. I am a Wasco Indian from Warm Springs Indian reservation, Warm Springs, Oregon. I must appeal to all my GI Indian Brothers to consider who you are and how tragic a situation we are now a part. Our people were murdered by this very Army we are now serving with! Is there an alternative? Can we somehow stop working for these Killers and start working for our INDIAN PEOPLE. I don't have any pride serving in the U.S. Army and feel very imprisoned everyday I spend on Ft. Lewis. Refuse to be Brain-washed into believing you're protecting the country the Army forcibly stole from you. Contact me at my Troop or at this phone number for further information GR5-9875. Also listen to KRAB Radio station in Seattle for the Janet McCloud show about The American Indian. An all-INDIAN G.I. ORGANIZATION has been formed on Ft. Lewis. The name of HEW-KECAW-NA-YO which means "To Resist". The objective of the organization is to assist all Indian G.I's.

Leonard: Well, being aware that I'm an American Indian, I had to attend these classes which were... they call them "command information classes" and they show films on the history of the army and I'm watching these films and everywhere there's savage, man, killing off the Indians...I mean killing off the people and here comes the cavalry and wipes all the Indians out. Genocide of the American Indians. And I got up and I said that I wanted to talk about the films. My Commanding Officer told me to sit down. I said "Listen, I want to discuss it now in front of the men and this concerns me." He said, "Listen, the Indians are having no problem at all today." And at the time he tells me this the Indians were starving in Arizona. So I told them I wasn't going to Vietnam.

I remember that these guys with the blue uniforms came in and kind of wiped out a lot of my people and started taking their land. And I thought, I'm being used to wipe out other people to take their land."



"This is all very unfair!
I have never killed
anyone personally."

MENOMINEE INDIANS OPEN THEIR UNTOUCHED LAKE LANDS TO OTHERS

36



The Last Untouched Lake Forest Area in the U.S.

Just a short drive from where you are right now is the most unique untouched lakeland area in the United States. Here are 82 lakes, over 300 miles of flowing streams, and the mighty Wolf River (one of nine in the U.S. being considered for permanent preservation under the new "Wild River" bill). Most amazing of all, here in Wisconsin, a state with over four million people, this magnificent 234,000 acre area has less than 2500 inhabitants. Less is known about it than any other county in Wisconsin, yet it has more pure water, more virgin stands of timber, more wild river, natural beauty, and one of the largest deer herds in the country... with streams literally teeming with rainbow, brown and brook trout. A land where wild rice still grows. Where the air is so pure it almost smells strange... all this and yet almost unknown... all this and yet only eight miles from Shawano, one of Wisconsin's major northern towns. Why has this land remained completely untouched? Only the Menominees have hunted, fished and lived here until now.

The Only Indian Reservation to Become a Legal County

Until 1961 this vast lakeland was the protected home of the Menominee Indians. The Menominee Indian Reservation. Literally a land apart. Outsiders were not permitted to fish, hunt or own land here. While tourists could pass thru to view the thundering river, walk the endless nature trails, explore the wandering logging trails, none could remain. The Menominee's country slumbered on until 1959 when the Wisconsin state legislature created Menominee County. The only Indian Reservation ever to become a county and the last county created in the entire United States.

Determination Becomes the Watchword

The Menominees welcomed their new status with pride and a firm determination to welcome non-residents while still maintaining the unique, untouched beauty of their lands, lakes and forests. They "dug in" and opened the county to future growth in every area that would not disturb the uniqueness of their nation. They made substantial progress through the years, with others coming to know well the Menominees and the lakeland county.

A Proud Tradition Opens the Way

The Menominee has always been an honorable and warm friend of other people. During the period of the major Indian Wars the Menominees never took part. In fact, when the aggressive Chief Pontiac attempted to join forces with this great tribe, their leader, Chief Tomau, held out his hands and replied: "These hands have never taken the blood of my fellow man, and they are not going to now." This noble tribe has always carried out this tradition of peaceful self-pride, supporting themselves mainly through forest product industries.



The Church of Many Woods

Always a religious people, the Menominee Indians place a special value on their place of worship. You will enjoy a visit to Neopit (near your lake property in Menominee County) to view one of the most unique churches in the entire world. This is known as the church of many woods. Every piece of stone and wood used in the construction of the building is native to the area. Every species of wood grown here is represented — oak walls, ashwood behind the altar, beech, birch and



aspen throughout the structure, maple, pine and cherry on the side altars, elm pews, Norway pine roof, cedar, knotty pine and hemlock in the baptistry; spruce, jackpine and hickory and butternut in the baptismal font... all grown in Menominee County. A fitting tribute to this wooded paradise and belief in their fellow man. This belief in their fellow men led the Menominees on a search that would prove an unmatched opportunity for those who would respect these lakelands as Menominees do.

Exclusive Hunting and Fishing Rights

Never before have outsiders been able to fully enjoy the sporting opportunities of this area. Now, every purchaser of property at Legend Lake receives the exclusive right to hunt and fish anywhere in Menominee County. This specially extended right is only available to first-time buyers at Legend Lake and is not transferable.

MENOMINEES JOIN HANDS WITH N. E. ISAACSON TO CREATE LAKELAND PARADISE

BUT SOME
MENOMINEES
AREN'T VERY
HAPPY ABOUT IT

SEE NEXT PAGE

History in the making is represented in the photo at left. A partnership between Menominee Enterprises, Inc. of Neopit and N. E. Isaacson & Associates of Reedsburg, was formulated with the formal signing of the Legend Lake agreement which would create unique, new lake homesites. Shown signing the agreement are Jerome Grignon, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Menominee Enterprises, Inc. (left) and N. E. "Ike" Isaacson, president of the development firm. Looking on are members of the Menominee Board of Directors... left to right... Gordon Dickie, James Caldwell, Curt Black and James G. Frechette. The imagination and creative spirit of these men has provided one of the finest recreation, vacation areas in the country, and we nearby Wisconsin residents are the fortunate recipients. This area is just being developed now, at a rapid rate, so now is the time to investigate the Lakes of the Menominees. This is your first and very possibly your last chance to own lake property such as this. Land never before owned! You will receive the first warranty deed ever recorded on this unique lakeland. Complete validity and reliability of N. E. Isaacson properties at Legend Lake are insured by the world's largest title insurance company, Chicago Title Insurance Company, Title Guaranty of Wisconsin Division (47 million dollars in present holdings). This never-before owned land is further backed up by one of Wisconsin's larger banks, Continental Bank and Trust, providing an unusually liberal property financing plan. The development has created 1,340 acres of crystal-clear water with over 40 miles of golden-sand shoreline. This is truly a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to attain wilderness lake property. Property purchased now is certain to increase in value over the years. It is obvious that land, never before available, will grow in value. It is untouched, unspoiled and will remain an outstanding investment under the planning of N. E. Isaacson.

One-Third of the Lakes of the Menominee Conserved as a Wilderness Area

The major precept, the prime philosophy behind every N. E. Isaacson lake development is "Improve on Nature". Never before has this been as evident than it is at Legend Lake. Wherever possible, forest land is left untouched and wildlife undisturbed. In the cases where nature grew a flaw, such as deep, dangerous drop-offs on a lake shore, this flaw has been remedied by the expert crews of N. E. Isaacson. Natural beauty is here, slightly adjusted to assure completely enjoyable, safe family lake living.

Year Round Access, Year Round Recreation

Here's the year round pleasure spot for your family. The roads are being built and will be open all year. Every season offers its special joys at Legend Lake... Springtime is delightfully fresh with new greenery bursting out all over... Summer provides those

lazy warm days that make a lake something special (swimming has never been better than it is here)... Autumn at the lakes is unbelievably beautiful with crisp, clean air and glowing tree colors, backed up by the blue waters... and Winter offers brisk, healthy snow fun and drowsy fireplace relaxing. Living has never been better.

NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION



FOR
THE
FIRST



Only 1,600 Acres Set Aside for Leisure Home Development

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See the crowning of Wisconsin's Indian Princess

Menominee County Fights Long³⁷ Uphill Battle

By PAT O'DONAHUE
Press-Gazette Staff Writer

KESHENA — The subject of termination is never very far from the conversation of Menominee Indians.

There seem to be two points of view on how to go about living with the distasteful subject.

One point was declared emphatically here last Monday night when several Menominee Indians and other residents of the county spoke out against termination and against the "ills" that termination has brought upon the Menominee people.

Offer Other Views

Another view was discovered in conversations with leaders in Menominee County, elected officials and officials of Menominee Enterprises.

The view was expressed by several people that outside interests, purchasing land on the Lakes of the Menominees project eventually will dispossess the Menominees from control of their own lands.

The feeling was expressed strongly that all outside people, which can be equated as all white men, should be forced to leave the county and leave control of the Menominee lands in the hands of Menominee people.

Militant Feeling

The feeling at that meeting was quite militant. Mrs. Monroe Weso even remarked, "I say the Menominees are going to fight and I am with the Menominees."

The meeting was called by her husband to explain the events which transpired at a three-day Indian Task Force gathering in Denver the week before.

Weso and his wife were the only Menominee Indians at the meeting attended by leaders from 36 Indian tribes.

Weso told the group that other Indian tribes also are afraid of termination. He said that termination, the danger of it, was one of the most discussed topics.

"This was not just another Indian study," he emphasized. "These were Indians saying their pieces."

Termination Issue

At that, Weso noted that he hopes to gather a portfolio of documented and specific Menominee complaints and suggestions within the next month. This study will be similar in character to one presented at Denver which lists problems and complaints of Indians throughout the nation.

He noted that one of his first jobs at Denver was to dispel the notion other Indians hold that Menominees were anxious for termination.

"They seem to think we all raised our hands and said, 'Yes, we want to be terminated.'"

"We corrected that right off the bat," he said.

Comments of white residents in full sympathy with the problems of the Menominees, were from persons married to Menominees.

James Plass, a white man married to a Menominee, noted, "Every choice lot on the lakes of the Menominees is taken by outsiders, and my children and other Indian children will find themselves out in the boondocks."

Constance Deer, a white woman long an advocate of the illegality of termination, claiming pre-eminence of treaties between the Menominee people and United States government, said, "We're going to get those white people out of here if we have to get rid of the phony Enterprises to do it."

Attack Enterprises

Mrs. Deer insisted that Menominee County does not legally exist. She maintained that the State of Wisconsin has no authority to create a county of Menominee lands, "since the treaty of 1884 made this land the property of the Menominee people in perpetuity."

Mrs. Deer's reference to the Menominee Enterprises pointed up discontent with some of the practices of the Indian-owned firm in regard to the sale of land to Menominee Indians.

Some Indians feel that Menominee Enterprises is "high handed" in its methods of ignoring repeated requests for land purchase by Menominees.

Mrs. Weso said, "Many applications for land are stacked

up at Enterprises, some for as long as two years. Yet wives come here in the morning and by the end of the day have a deed to property on the new lake."

The other view was presented by Mrs. Marie Bowan, county clerk, Jerome Grignon, chair-

man of the Menominee Enterprises board of directors, and Hilary Waukau, a member of the Menominee common stock and voting trust.

Mrs. Bowan said of termination "It's here, and I don't just want to bury my head in the sand and hope it will go away."

"We just have to make the best of it."

Le May Agrees

Andre LeMay, chairman of the Menominee County Parents and Students Committee on Education, agreed in essence with Mrs. Bowan.

He said, "We have problems

here, but we should solve them here. If the people have land problems, the place to go is Enterprises, not Washington.

"We're not connected with the Bureau of Indian Affairs."

"We're terminated. The only other place to look for help is legal help from the State of Wisconsin."

That's where it stands today. People who are involved in local government in Menominee County recognize what they call the accomplished fact of termination.

They don't like it, but it's there. So many of them are pouring their efforts into making it work.

Others of the Menominee tribe have never accepted as legal or moral the termination of reservation status.

They continue to maintain that projects such as the Visitor Destination Center, ground for which was broken Saturday, and the Lakes of the Menominees, the project which will see 2,000 lots sold primarily to outside people, are not in the best interest of the Menominee people and should not be allowed.

State Sen. Reuben LaFave, Oconto, chairman of the Menominee Indian Study Commission, said Saturday that the chance of reversing termination "is a myth."

He noted that the Menominees have been terminated "by the law we all live under, the United States Congress. And the U. S. Supreme Court has declared that the Congress had the right to terminate the treaty."

Menominees Lose Out

Guy E. Calkins, Wisconsin representative for the League of Nations Pan-American Indians reports as follows:—Recently, a representative group of authentic Menominee Indians, members of our League, sent a strongly worded four-page letter containing ten demands to Wisconsin Representatives, Henry Reuss of Milwaukee and John Byrnes of Green Bay, Wisconsin State Assemblyman Reuben LaFave, and U.S. Senator Wm. Proxmire. At a meeting in Mr. Calkins' home, the letter and ten demands were drawn up and prepared by Calkins from the discussions and suggestions of the assembled Menominees.

The Authentic Menominees have petitioned the League to intercede in their behalf to aid them in their organized move to regain control and administrative powers over their lands, the former Menominee Indian Reservation, now known as Menominee county.

In addition, the Menominees have asked that we aid them in their demands for a complete investigation of the activities of past and present officials of the white, political-sponsored Menominees Enterprises, Inc., and to also aid them in bringing the true story of their tragic difficulties to the general public.

It is our duty to aid the Menominees in every possible manner, and we intend to do just that. The tragic and heart-breaking events that have engulfed the Menominees since termination have been intensifying rapidly as time passes and those responsible for the sad state of affairs are the obligation-dumping white politicians and their weakling Indian puppets.

The League President's view is, that if Menominee Enterprises, Inc., and the N.E. Isaacson & Associates, Inc., continue to force their will upon the Authentic Menominees, our helpless friends will become a landless tribe.

Lose Funds

By CAROLYN STEWART
Press-Gazette Staff Writer

Young Menominee Indians are not considered Indians by a federal government program to provide educational grants to Indians, and a state government program designed to fill the gap is administered so as to limit the options open to them, according to Robert Koller, director of financial aids at St. Norbert College.

With the termination of the Menominee Indian reservation in 1954, and its divorce from the jurisdiction of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, the members of the Menominee community lost, among other things, eligibility for federal grants to help young Indians earn college degrees.

All other Wisconsin Indians of at least one-quarter Indian blood who have the other necessary qualifications are eligible for federal grants up to \$300 a year to use to meet college expenses at the institution of their choice.



The Menominee's Fight To Stop Repression

LAST WEEK The Capital Times published a story about the fight of a group of Wisconsin Indians to stop an effort in the Legislature to force them into the unfortunate situation which has developed with the Menominee Indians. The Indian group is represented by the Great Lakes Intertribal Council. The Council has passed a resolution opposing a resolution in the state Legislature sponsored by a group of GOP state senators headed by Sen. Reuben LaFave, Oconto. Other senators include Arthur Cirilli, Walter Terry, Clifford Krueger, Walter Chilsen and Raymond Johnson. The resolution would set up a study committee to make recommendations concerning the Wisconsin Indians. The Indians are concerned that the committee would be dominated by non-Indians and that it would wind up terminating the relations of the Indians with the federal government, as it did so disastrously in the case of Menominees.

The Menominee termination, which was guided by the Menominee study committee, was denounced by the Council as a "momentous failure." Representatives of eight of the 10 tribes still under federal supervision in Wisconsin voted for the resolution. Two of the tribes were not at the meeting where the resolution was considered. The tribes voting were the Potawatomi, St. Croix, Oneida, Stockbridge-Munsee, Lac Court Oreilles, Bad River, Lac du Flambeau and Winnebago.

Why the Great Rush To 'Terminate' the Indians?

THE INCIDENT raises again the question of why there is this great rush on the part of some public officials to terminate the relationship of the Indians with the federal government. There is the natural suspicion, of course, that the move for termination gets its strongest backing from those who want to exploit the recreational resources of Indian reservations for private profit. There is a great deal of criticism along this line in the activities that have developed in the wake of the Menominee termination. It is conceded by those who have looked into this problem that the Indians are ill-equipped to protect themselves in the shark-infested waters of today's commercial activities.

Perhaps one of the most comprehensive studies done of the American Indian has been by William Brandon, the author of the American Heritage Book of Indians and a teacher at the University of Massachusetts. He has studied the problem all across the nation and is currently publishing a series of articles in the Progressive Magazine, which is published at Madison, Wisconsin. Brandon's work constitutes some of the most authoritative writing on this problem in the nation today. He takes up many aspects of the problem, but the one that is most useful for Wisconsin at this time is his view on termination. These are some excerpts from the article appearing in the current Progressive under the title, "The American Indians: The Un-Americans."

Some Meaningful Words

That Should Be Remembered

"Termination," Mr. Brandon writes, "is truly a word of ill omen to tribal Indians. . . . When this federal responsibility is abrogated, the Indian community thus 'terminated' is more than likely to fall prey to disintegration; few Indian communities are rich and strong enough to survive on their own under state and local jurisdictions armed with tax powers and hostile to the Indian community's way of life. The Menominee Nation of Wisconsin, which was terminated some 10 years ago and was transformed into one of Wisconsin's smallest and poorest counties, seems already near the end of a losing fight for life: white purchasers are being invited to buy homesites in numbers that will make them a majority in the country."

Mr. Brandon notes that the argument most frequently advanced for termination is economy. He says, however, that the per capita cost for Indians on the reservations is about the same as it is for the rest of the population and then he states: "Politicians viewing federal Indian costs with righteous indignation are seldom conscious of this fact. Nor do they seem aware that when Indian communities are terminated, the federal expense, although thereafter more or less masked, remains at least as high, or goes even higher, as the state and local governments demand increased federal aid in supporting the added expense the state and county and municipality have assumed." These are meaningful words for Wisconsin legislators to remember, particularly in view of their own reluctance to pick up the welfare costs that the state now has.

"Let the people have the truth and freedom to discuss it and all will go well."

SHAWANO, WISCONSIN FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 1970

Menominee Information and Action Committee

Menominee Group Contacts ACLU

Possible legal solutions to local problems presented by the Menominee Information and Action Committee was hinted at by several members of the American Civil Liberties Union last night at Keshena.

MIAC, A GROUP of active, outspoken Menominee Indians formed six months ago have challenged the present power structure of the County, Menominee Enterprises. It is the groups claim that Enterprises has denied the vast majority of Menominee Indians basic human and tribal rights in areas of land ownership, job opportunities, voting rights and a voice in their own affairs.

Dr. K. W. Downey, Chairman of the Northeastern Wisconsin Chapter of the ACLU, said that his organization was contacted by the group and this first meeting was strictly informational in nature. Downey admitted that his organization was not familiar with any of the problems posed by the Indian group, but guaranteed further contact with MIAC. "We feel that there are some areas which show possibilities for local legal action," he said.

THE INDIAN group claiming to speak for the majority of silent and frustrated Menominees, is at present circulating a petition which will be presented to Congress. They have held local information gathering meetings to list all areas of complaints of county residents. During the course of its activities it has appealed to various legal bodies and other Indian groups to help solve what they call a deteriorating situation. MIAC was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Weso of Keshena, and is chaired by Mrs. Sanford Fowler.

The petition, which was approved for circulation last night, is directed to the U.S. Congress. The document urges Congress to reconsider the effects of termination, claiming that termination has been detrimental to the Menominee tribe, to the state of Wisconsin, the United States government and to all tax-paying citizens. It asks for Congress to "reconsider, investigate and act to eliminate the Termination Act, and problems arising from termination."

THE PETITION lists four

major sections with 21 areas of complaint, citing land problems, Menominee Enterprises, Tax and Socioeconomic problems and the lack of economic programs.

David Suemnick, an attorney for the ACLU, informed the group that he could see two directions his group could take. The doubtful one would be to pursue the petition to Congress. He encouraged the committee to proceed with the petition but said he felt the direction for the ACLU would be on a local basis.

SUEMNICK along with Downey indicated that certain areas of the Enterprises operation puzzled them in regards to the voting trust and land use. It was these two areas that brought out most heated response from the 50 people present.

The petition and copies will be sent to Congress, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Senators Edward Kennedy, Proxmire, and Nelson; Congressmen Dave Obey and Henry Reuss, Vice-President Agnew and other governmental offices.

'Indian Power' Disrupts Ecology Talks

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL APRIL 1, 1970



Indians picketed outside the Pfister Hotel Tuesday protesting proposals that would create a national recreation area of the Apostle Islands in Lake Superior

and lakeshore lands in the Red Cliff and Bad River reservations. The Pfister was the site of the Lake Michigan Enforcement Conference.

—Sentinel Photo by Donald W. Nusbaum

By CHARLOTTE ROBINSON
(Of The Capital Times Staff)

American Indian Power Tuesday challenged the Wisconsin Student Association Symposium as members of the Wisconsin Indian Student Movement (WISM) disrupted two ecology sessions of the week-long symposium on "Survival—14 years to 1984."

Protesting the exclusion of the problems of the American Indian from the symposium, the students said, "we feel that the symposium committee has ignored the people with the longest practice of conservation: Indian land is the least polluted in this country."

The seven Indian students took over the podium of a session on "Our Land—Can It Be Preserved?" scheduled for 2 p.m. and conducted a question-and-answer period that lasted for one hour.

To illustrate their dilemma, the students pointed out that there were only 18 "Token Indian" students at the University out of almost 35,000 students on the Madison campus. There are 20,000 Indians in Wisconsin.

There are 33 members of WISM, a group whose goals are to "preserve Indian land and culture."

Wes Martin, who said his name had been given to him by "some honky missionary who couldn't pronounce Indian names", challenged the WSA to explain why the Indians had been excluded from the program.

"It was just negligence on our part and we apologize," answered a representative of the student group.

"This University is too far behind," charged Sandra Waubanasum of Neopit. "We are glad that you are involved with the black man, but the Indian gave up our lands to you — you have taken it and destroyed it."

Pointing to statistics that emphasize the plight of the American Indian, the students told an overflow crowd at the session that the average life span of the American Indian is 43 years, the average education is 8th grade, the average income is \$1,500 yearly.

"We can't fight a hot war

anymore", said Martin, "We tried that—we have to try to get our people out of poverty."

"We as natives of this country do not wish to be labeled as anarchists, Communists, or militants," reads a leaflet on Indian

Power passed out among the crowd, "because we are the only people who know and understand our problems as they stand at present. Indian Power means a serene social change in the native tribes."

"We know what our problem is," said Sandra Waubanasum, "It's the white man, the Kemo Sabes' who don't know anything about our people."

WISM members also preempted the first part of another Symposium session in the evening in Great Hall.

They pleaded for more Indian student representation on the campus; establishment of an Indian student center and courses in Indian culture; a revision of textbooks which portray the Indian as an illiterate savage; and a restructuring of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs to permit greater control by Indians.

Behind a rostrum which bore the banner, "Custer Died for Your Sins," Sandra Waubanasum called the American Indians "a conquered people" in their own land.

"We might almost be considered prisoners of war," she said. "Our reservations might be considered prison camps. Yet it is our land. Our ancestors struggled for it."

Land-grabbing by the whites is still going on today, she said, pointing to a developer's lake project in Menominee County.

The project, designed to link several natural lakes into a huge artificial lake, has been dubbed "Legend Lake" by the developer, N. E. Isaacson of Reedsburg.

"But it's a white man's leg-

Winnebago Lose Plea on Souvenir Sales

Journal Madison Bureau

Madison, Wis. — Winnebago Indians may not sell souvenirs on land within the town of Lyndon (Juneau county), Atty. Gen. Robert W. Warren said Wednesday.

In an opinion to Dist. Atty. Ray C. Feldman, jr., Warren said a zoning ordinance in the town applied to the land, even though it was being held in trust for the Indians by the federal government.

The Indians who live on the land operate a stand in summer months selling baskets, Indian crafts and other souvenirs. The zoning ordinance, however, restricted the land to residential use.

September 11, 1969

APRIL 25, 1970 Apostle Islands Hearing Told of Indian Objections

WASHINGTON (AP)—Indians continued their opposition Tuesday to creation of an Apostle Islands national lakeshore preserve which they said would involve some of their reservation lands along Lake Superior.

Other opponents to the proposal for Northern Wisconsin complained it could halt private economic development of the islands and adjoining mainland, and would attract many vacationers who are unprepared for dealing with Lake Superior's occasionally mean temper.

The testimony was submitted to a House interior subcommittee concerning a bill already approved by the Senate. The bill involves 17,750 acres of Wisconsin's Lake Superior shore, and 21 partially inhabited islands representing about 39,250 acres.

Indians Object

Four representatives of the Red Cliff and Bad River reservations objected to the portions of the program affecting approx-

imately 10,000 acres of Indian land near Bayfield, Wis.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., who said he has backed the project since he was Wisconsin governor in 1960, remarked he hopes "the Indians would be included, but it is not essential" to the over-all success of the preservation program.

Inclusion of reservation territory in the program is subject to an Indian referendum.

Nelson said he believes that "allotted land," which is land held by individual Indians and is not part of the tribal lands, should be acquired by the government by condemnation, if other methods fail.

Defines Problem

"Sometimes a piece of land is held by as many as 40 Indians," he explained. "These Indians live in different parts of the United States and it would be simply impossible to find them to acquire a clear title."

He also said he believes the State of Wisconsin will turn over parts of the Apostle Islands it has acquired to the federal government for the same reason that it turned over its lease-payment lands in Menominee County after the Wolf River was included in the Wild Rivers Bill.

T. R. Powell of Neenah, Wis., spoke against the bill, saying federal acquisition of 57,000 acres for the preserve would be a blow to local tax sources and private economy.

Robert E. Evans of Excelsior, Minn., a Coast Guard reserve officer, said the Lake Superior shore is often too dangerous for many of the tourists whom a federal lakeshore label might attract.

U.W. Endorses Bill

Harold C. Jordahl, a University of Wisconsin professor, joined Nelson in promoting the bill. Jordahl said the university has endorsed the measure.

"Recreation and tourism are key elements to the future growth and prosperity of northern Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota," Jordahl said.

The bill also was endorsed by Alfred E. France, the government's co-chairman on the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission.

William C. Brewer, chairman of the South Shore Property Owners' Association, in opposing the lakeshore project, said it would become commercial. S. W. Jenssch, of Washington, Md., who owns 10 acres of land on Sand Island, objected to the bill on the grounds that the cost of the proposed park area would be in excess of \$100 million.

WASHINGTON (PG) — Establishment of the Apostle Islands as a national lakeshore has been given top priority by the Nixon administration, George B. Hartzog, Park Service director, told a House sub-

committee Monday.

He said the area has been designed as one of six among 90 areas under consideration that Interior Secretary Walter Hickel has given his blessings as a national lakeshore or seashore.

Plan, Draft Protested

A band of about 20 American Indians, wearing colorful blankets and bright feathers, surrounded the Wisconsin Ave. entrance to the Pfister Hotel Tuesday to protest plans for a national recreation area along the shore of Lake Superior and on the Apostle Islands.

The Indians gathered at the hotel were protesting what they labeled another attempt by the government to steal their land.

Nelson bill

THE UWM POST
April 21, 1970

Sen. Gaylord Nelson is attempting to pass a bill that will take land from the Red Cliff and Bad River Indian reservations to make a park.

James LaGoo, an Indian student here from the Bad River reservation said "These reservations are the Indians' last cultural identity and this identity will be lessened if the bill is passed."

According to LaGoo in 1854 the government made a treaty with the Chippewa Indians, giving them 124,332 acres of land. In 1969 43,000 acres of this land remained in the possession of the Indians.

"Some of this land was bought by white people taking advantage of the Indians. When the Indians realized that they were being cheated it was too late."

"It's difficult to make people understand how the Indians feel about their land, he said. We don't want to be a separate community, all we want is our land--the last trace of our cultural identity, we don't want to lose it."

The INDIAN

AMERICAN INDIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

SOUTH DAKOTA

April 30, 1970

Co-editors of THE INDIAN are Birgit Kills Straight, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 57770 and Frank LaPointe, Rosebud, South Dakota, 57570.

Rapid City Journal

Sioux reviewer says new film not authentic

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following movie review is written by a Grand Forks Herald staff writer who is seven-eighths Oglala Sioux Indian.)

By ART RAYMOND
Grand Forks Herald Staff Writer

GRAND FORKS (AP) — "Lila Sicha." In Lakota, that means "really bad." If "A Man Called Horse," now running at Cinema International here, is authentic, my name is George Armstrong Custer.

"A Man Called Horse" under the "historical expertise" of former North Dakota employee Clyde Dollar has been billed from coast to coast as authentic. It's premiere in the land of the Sioux has been blazoned across the country on radio, television and by newspaper.

"The film presents the American Indian and his customs with fascinating realism," says one review published in advance. The same review goes on to say that much of this film's authenticity is owed to its technical adviser—Clyde Dollar, Sioux historian and veteran student of Indian custom."

Movie makers cannot be expected to know. Dollar certainly ought to. The stupidity and ignorance of Sioux ways, (and the film is about the Sioux), is gross. Dollar didn't even know Sioux mounted their horses on the right side — not on the left as do the Wasicu (white men).

One of the key romantic and emotional parts of the film is Hollywood's alleged desertion of the old people by the Sioux. This simply is not true. In the Siouan culture, the elderly held a special place of honor and never, never, never were deserted. On the contrary, they received very special care.

The Sioux, in "A Man Called Horse" were depicted as cruel with no finer instincts for understanding human nature. In truth, the Sioux were implacable enemies once their animosity was aroused. However, their entire culture was one in which altruism and love for fellow man held the highest of places. The film is preceded by propaganda which says it shows the way of life and customs.

To extract one segment of that life and let it represent the entire way of life and culture is a gross injustice to the Sioux of today.

The scenery is beautiful; the photography the best, and the fictionalized story line dramatic; the language is real and most (but not all) of the songs authentic.

Who could complain if this were simply billed as another portrayal of white man's version of Indian wars in which the white man wears the white hat and the Sioux the black hat. That is wrong, of course, but the Sioux have come to expect that. To bill this as an authentic film which accurately portrays the life and custom of the Sioux is not only wrong and unjust. It is a lie.

BIA designs costly

The American Institute of Architects (AIA), in congressional testimony Friday, charged that American Indians and taxpayers are being short-changed on buildings designed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The testimony was given before the Senate's appropriations subcommittee on the 1971 budget for the Department of Interior.

Testimony presented by Philip A. Hutchinson, AIA director of government affairs, listed three complaints against BIA design work. Hutchinson charged:

"1. It is costing two or three times more for the bureau to design a project and administer construction than it would to get the same work from private architects and engineers.

"2. Using stock plans, we (AIA) believe, has resulted in some buildings not suitable to different climates and terrain.

Brady proposes cultural stations on reservations

ROSEBUD — "One of the greatest benefits we can bring to South Dakota is the development of cultural stations throughout our Indian reservations." Second district congressional candidate Fred Brady, Spearfish, declared here Wednesday on his third day of campaigning on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations.

"I can envision," Brady continued, "a beautiful, large center wherein our true American — the American Indian — will administer, display and sell his goods to a tourist clientele. I feel that most United States children want to come to South Dakota to see a real Indian and they are the ones that direct their parents to come here."

"Cultural stations are beginning to be prominent around the world to attract visitors, but here in South Dakota we have been dragging our feet in promoting what could well be the greatest attraction of tourists to our state. Our tourist

industry, second only to agriculture, could bring economic benefits to our reservations."

"Each area of development," Brady depicted, "would exhibit and actually show our visitors the customs and culture of our original Americans — hunting, fishing, cooking, living conditions, music, dances and manufacturing. In addition, all goods would be for sale, displayed in attractively designed and constructed wigwams. The Indian motif should be utilized in all accommodations, such as hotels, rest rooms, service stations and theatres."

The congressional candidate, who has spoken out frequently on ecology and conservation, included wild life management in his proposed plan for the reservation.

"Another attraction to all visitors," Brady said, "would be buffalo and elk, once so prevalent in the area and still available from our many national and state parks."

Indian says Brady plan 'degrading'

In a Friday address at the Boxelder Job Corps Center at Nemo, an Indian from Rapid City voiced opposition to reservation proposals announced by Fred Brady of Spearfish, Republican candidate for Second District congressman.

Carroll Swan, a spokesman for the Rapid City Indian Steering Committee, addressed Job Corpsmen on the subject of Indian culture. Swan, a Black Hills State College student and a Cheyenne-Eagle Butte Sioux, accused Brady of "attempting to further degrade the Indian people of South Dakota with his program."

Swan referred to Brady's proposals for Indians to administer, display and sell their goods

to a tourist clientele and Brady's remarks that he felt most U.S. children want to come to South Dakota to see a real Indian.

"Aside from the fact that Brady wants to put us on display like animals in a zoo," Swan said, "he is merely exhibiting the paternalistic attitude that has brought Indian-white relations to their present sorry state of affairs."

Swan said, "Indians do not want to be displayed in a degrading situation such as Brady proposes. The Indian people are always amused at overnight Indian experts such as Brady who apparently has spent a total of three days on the reservation."



FRESHMAN COUNCILMAN LITTLE AND SENIOR COUNCILMAN RED CLOUD

EDITORIAL 39

EDUCATION: There are many areas we must be involved in if we are committed to the development of our people. Primary among these is Education--Total Community Education. We must destroy the concept of the School, and in particular of the reservation school, as an institution, conforming to Bureau requirements, designed to operate only from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., while restricting facilities to enrolled students from "grades" x through z. The Bureau School is the only nearly adequate physical facility at the community level. If it is to be in fact an institution where-in human beings have meaningful experiences of learning, there must be radical changes in the relationship, between communities, teachers, children and parents. Or rather let us say relationships must be established between child and teacher, child and child, parent and parent, and parent and child, and establish in a mutual learning context.

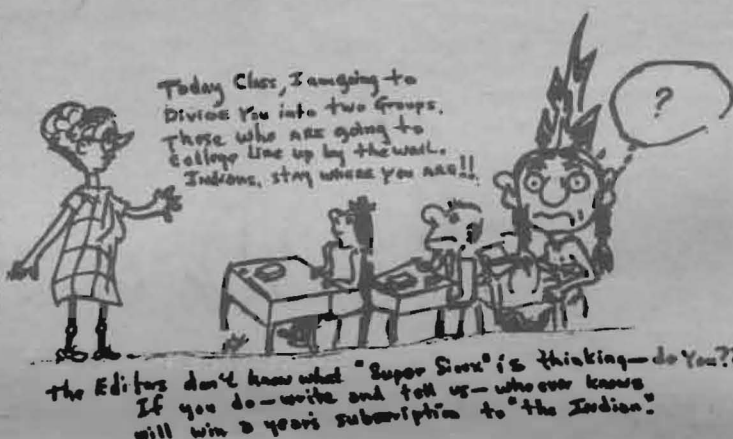
What concept then should replace the one we wish to destroy? We believe the school should become a total community Educational and Recreational Center! A focal point about which human relationships are established and maintained, wherein authentic communication occurs.

A man closed in upon himself cannot survive, a child closed in upon himself will smother, a nation closed in upon itself will die. Man must communicate, he must bring forth that from within which expresses who he is, that from within which tells of what he sees and knows and understands and loves. He must tell this to other men.

Too long our educational institutions have smothered and killed real learning. Learning is not to sit and take in that which is given, it is to reach out with an intellect that rejoices in seeing and understanding, to reach out with emotions that thrill to beauty, it is to take a total experience and create another.

The Indian in order to break the chains of a negative self image, must first gain control of his schools, but he must not make the mistake of fashioning his school after dying institutions around him. He must be the leader in developing an environment of authentic learning experience.

G.M.C.



WANBLEE INDIANS ON THE WAR PATH

Ever since the white man first occupied our land, we have been the objects of derision and prejudice.

This prejudice has assumed many forms, ranging from outright violence as exemplified in the massacre at Wounded Knee to much more subtle forms such as racist jokes and poorly concealed disdain.

We, the people of Wanblee, are against all forms of prejudice, since we are the ones who have suffered and continue to suffer its effects.

One could point out immeasurable evidence of racial prejudice in Kadoka. A blatant example is the "Indian Power" sign which appears on the wine cabinet at the Kadoka Municipal Bar. This sign has, no doubt, been found quite humorous by many patrons of the bar. We assert that, far from being humorous, it is insulting and prejudicial.

It is indeed regretful that there are still large numbers of people who indulge in classifying whole races of people simply on the basis of their own limited personal experience. What is even more troubling is the fact that fellow citizens would fail to add those of limited scope and understanding in realizing that there is very little humor to be found in a joke of this nature.

There is a mood sweeping the nation, in which minority groups are demanding that they be perceived as people. We concur in this mood and we trust that it will not be long before the residents of Kadoka shall have advanced to a stage where they, too, can begin to treat their neighbors as people.

Community of Wanblee
Wanblee, South Dakota

Tax held valid on Indian-owned reservation lands

WINNER — Circuit Judge John B. Jones, Presho, has ruled that the state of South Dakota has the power to tax real estate owned by Indians and located within the confines of a "closed" Indian reservation.

The plaintiffs in this case were all Indian members of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe living on the reservation who own deeded land within the boundaries of the reservation. The defendants are the Tripp County Board of County Commissioners acting in and for Todd County.

The plaintiffs brought a declaratory judgment action claiming that deeded land owned by them was not taxable by Todd County. They claimed that the state through its political subdivision, Todd County, did not have jurisdiction to tax their deeded land.

Judge Jones said that the Congress of the United States had ceded this power to tax to the state.

Americans Before Columbus⁴⁰

Published by the National Indian Youth Council
3102 CENTRAL S.E.
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87106

Feb., 1970 — March, 1970

TRADITIONALISTS CALL FOR UNITY

Peggy Swift

"I'm sick and tired of white men telling us what to do and from here on in we are encouraging all our people, Navajo and Hopi, and anyone who has got the guts as an Indian to speak back because the BIA and Walter Hickle are not doing right by our people.

"We have been pushed around long enough... it's time we take what is rightfully ours," Mad Bear, a founder on the North American Indian Unity Movement, told listeners at a December meeting at the Indian Center in Gallup.

"United we will succeed," Mad Bear said. "It's high time our people quit referring to each other as Hopi, Navajo, Iroquois, Tuscarora, Seneca or any other tribe. This is what has divided us for so long."

The North American Indian Unity Caravan, formally begun in 1967, is an independent, flexible group traveling about the United States and Canada, re-educating Indian people to be proud of their history and to stand up for their rights... and to present a united front to obtain their natural and lawful rights.

The last Caravan leaving Canada had 72 cars and buses. People supported themselves as they travelled from place to place... oftentimes invited to camp on Indian land and brought gifts of food by the local people.

"Most of the people who attend the conventions and travel in the caravans could be called traditionalists," Mad Bear said, "in that they believe in the vitality of Indian ways in these modern times."

The concepts behind the Indian Unity Caravan began many years ago in the lands of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy in upper New York State.

The Iroquois, disclaiming U.S. citizenship, have long cherished their sovereignty as an independent nation.

Indian people throughout the continent requested Mad Bear and other members of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy to assist them in their struggles against the government. In the course of traveling the U.S. and Canada, the basis of the North American Indian Unity Caravan developed.

"We have little regard for the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Mad Bear said. "They have cheated Indian people too much, stolen too much money."

Mad Bear pointed out that it was the Iroquois who aided the colonies in their fight to free themselves from Britain's rule. It was also his people who gave the U.S. government the basis for their constitution.

The Indian Prophecy, based on knowledge long acquired by the Hopi people, has foretold many of the events now taking place in the U.S. today.

"Everywhere we see the winds of change," Mad Bear said. When they continue to disregard the treaties — their sacred words and spiritual foundations — the government has become corrupted and will soon crumble."

The Hopi prophecy tells of the fall of the U.S. government and of white society "... and if money were to become meaningless," Mad Bear added, "the white society would soon collapse."

In order to prevent this collapse, the white men "must sit with the Indian and in good faith, renegotiate and consider the Indian rights."

Mad Bear told people not to be afraid of the BIA puppets who "are taking your land and money, but to stand up and talk back."

"It is not the Indian way to demonstrate," he said, "but this is the only language the whiteman understands."

"This country was created through violence, but we are peaceful people and will try to get our rights back in a peaceful way."

"The North American Indian Unity Caravan," Mad Bear pointed out "does not enter Indian territory and say we want to be your leaders, but it attempts to inspire people to stand up for their rights and to work together for Indian unity."

1970 CARAVAN IN YELM,
WASHINGTON, c/o JANE
McLOUD

JULY 15-22



We would like to buy ourselves back, America, but the question is how much do you want for us?

RACISM IN THE PRESS

The following is an excerpt from the Sunday magazine section of the *Atlanta Journal*, February 15, 1970.

The article quotes Ross Allen, Florida's famous alligator wrestler, snake milker, and Indian expert. These quotes, we believe, are typical of the racist attitudes being expressed about Indians in the press, television, and movies by our "friends."

The editors of ABC hope that the reader will think about these remarks.

Accordingly to Ross Allen, "The Seminoles are still wild," he says. "All Indians are. The Indian has not fit into our way of life and therefore he's become a nuisance. He's not happy. His chromosomes push him to the wilderness. He likes the wilderness. An Indian boy comes into town and parks cars (for a living) and gets a little bit of money, but he sees on TV everything you and I have and then he wants it. Then he takes one drink of a beer and he's drunk. And he has deep-seated resentments caused by the stories his mother and father have told him and (those) his grandfather and grandmother have told him about the Indian Wars. Every Indian boy knows the history of the war because the Indian custom is to talk and tell them so..."

"Old-timers have tried to maintain pride in their way of life," he said. "The young Indian sees TV and goes to school and learns our way of life. There's a conflict there. The little boy becomes unhappy. He sees things he can't have and when he's drunk his resentments come out. He doesn't like us because we took Florida away from him and there are various (other things): the treaties and the things he reads about, the mistreatment and so on. So all these deep-seated resentments are there and unless you know the Indian well you don't realize this, that they're holding in inside of them these things that come out when they're drunk. And boy-oh-boy, what you hear then!"

All this would have been different if the Seminole hadn't been so proud and standoffish, according to Ross Allen. "If we could have mixed the blood years ago it would have solved a lot of these problems," he said. "They're not far removed from a wild animal, you know. Intermarriage would have done it, but they wouldn't intermarry with whites. With blacks, sometimes, yes; but not with whites."

WELFARE CHECKS

Law and order prevails again today in and around the little community of Bunch, Oklahoma. Aroused and angry Cherokees are still upset, but for a while there was hard confrontation.

The tension started when the combination store and Post Office in Bunch burned on October 24. Customers there, largely jobless Cherokees, unable to speak or understand English, knew what was coming.

They exist on credit groceries and three or four dollars cash each month after turning their welfare checks over to the merchant. When the store burned, there would be no credit. There would be no food.

The merchant was Harold Moss, Westville, Oklahoma. He knew what was coming, too. If he did not get those checks due in the mail on November 1, he would probably never get paid on the past accounts.

He got the checks. The postmistress at Bunch, Mrs. Dorothy Asbill, said this had always been the practice. It was a convenience to do it that way. Also, there had been signed authorizations. Unfortunately, these had burned in the fire.

Jim Vann, Route 1, Bunch, one of the

Cherokees whose check was given to Moss, denied that he ever signed such a permit. But then, Jim Vann does not read English. Jim Vann signs his name by making an X.

The confrontation got hard when Moss toured the back hills and ridges with the checks, demanding the Cherokees sign them. The feeling rose higher when he came around again, this time with Adair County Sheriff, Luke Worley.

Some few signed, but the others did not, and at this point, Wednesday, November 5, people were already without any food, and their relatives and friends, to whom they might have gone, were also without food.

The matter was then brought to the attention of Senator Fred Harris, and by Friday, November 7, the Postmistress had retrieved the checks personally and delivered them personally to their owners.

The Original Cherokee Community Organization (OCCO), which contacted Harris, is the Cherokee organization which sponsored the lawsuits, one of which challenged the lawfulness of the appointed white man chief of the Cherokees, which were recently dismissed by the United States District Court in Tulsa.

EDITORIAL

THE LESSONS OF LITTLETON

When the twelve Indian employees at the BIA Plant Management Engineering Center (PMEC) in Littleton, Colorado filed a formal complaint against the BIA, none of them suspected that they would become a national issue.

The situation at Littleton was essentially a local action that branched out into other parts of the country. Local Denver Indians and Indian organizations have shown a great deal of courage and responsibility in pursuing the demonstrations in behalf of the complainants.

During the course of events issues far beyond those raised in the complaint were uncovered.

One had always assumed that, despite everything, the top people in the BIA were after-all basically fair people. This idea was shattered at Littleton. After the complaint was filed the first thing the BIA did was to send those Indians who didn't sign the complaint off for special training. Recently regarding the complaint in Albuquerque the IADC promoted all its Indian employees except those who signed that complaint.

Those \$20,000 a year boys in the BIA in brazen fashion decided they knew best how to "keep those damned skins in line."

Before it had always been assumed that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ran the BIA. The Littleton action proved this notion false.

When the Commissioner visited the occupied building, he signed a demand suspending the chief, assistant chief, and an administrative officer of PMEC. Bruce also stated that no one would be arrested and the Indians could stay in the building for as long as the complaint was being investigated.

Three hours later the chief of PMEC whom Bruce had just suspended signed an order for the arrest of all in the building. 15 were arrested.

The PMEC chief evidently was given authorization to do this by Mr. Harrison Loesch, assistant secretary of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management.

Evidently Mr. Loesch, whose name is unfamiliar to Indian people and who as far as we know has never met with Indian people, is the real person who runs the BIA.

It appears that the BIA is so low in the Department of Interior that even if the Commissioner chose to be an advocate for Indian people he could not do so effectively.

The PMEC chiefs refused to talk to the Indian protestors at all. One could feel their contempt as they sat impassive behind their huge desks. Their first reaction was to call in the cops. One chief ceremoniously took a copy of ABC and threw it in the waste can in front of everybody. Another scribbled a note referring to Indians saying, "positions should be created for Indians who have reached their maximum level of incompetence." These acts were not meant to win the hearts and minds of the Indians they serve.

But these are the kinds of people Indians must face daily. Every Indian young person has seen his relatives go hat in hand to these same kind of people begging for something that was already theirs.

The occupation was a constructive act. Without it there would be no investigation of the complaint and the wastefulness of the office. Commissioner Bruce would not have faced up to the problems raised. Harrison Loesch would not have been exposed. And the PMEC injustices would have continued.

Loesch has promised to meet with all concerned Indian people in Denver. We can only await that meeting.

However, without the occupation of the building the charges raised would have been ignored. Unless the BIA now makes massive changes, we can only conclude that the sole way we can achieve any sort of justice is to occupy every BIA installation in the country with half the Indian population going to jail.

—THE GLOBE AND MAIL, APRIL 30, 1970

Pageantry at Botany Bay

Aborigines mourn Cook anniversary

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
© New York Times Service

SYDNEY, Australia — Historic pageantry and a demonstration by Australian aborigines against their treatment at the hands of white men marked the 200th anniversary yesterday of Capt. James Cook's landing at Botany Bay, an event that foreshadowed the development of Australia from a primitive wilderness into a modern industrialized nation.

The highlight of the commemorative program was a realistic re-enactment, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, her husband Prince Philip and their daughter Princess Anne, of the scene when the British navigator came ashore on the sandy beach in defiance of opposition by natives.

At the same time on another beach, about a mile across the bay, 150 aborigines attended a ceremonial tossing of floral wreaths into the water, indicating that for them the anniversary was a day of mourning.

The demonstrators displayed bumper stickers reading "Cook is bad news for aborigines." Many wore badges saying "I support aboriginal land rights," a protest against the displacement of aborigines by white settlers.

Neither the Royal party nor the thousands of other spectators at the official observance were aware of the demonstration.

Neither the Royal party nor the thousands of other spectators at the official observance were aware of the demonstration.

Captain Cook's landing was a disaster

By JOHN PRINGLE
Reuters

SYDNEY — While the Queen was watching a re-enactment of Captain Cook's landing at Kurnell in Botany Bay 200 years ago, a group of aborigines at the other side of the bay were throwing wreaths into the sea from a small beach at La Perouse.

One can see why. Two hundred years after the first white man landed on the east coast of Australia, the aborigines, who then numbered about 300,000 — no one really knows how many — have been reduced to about 130,000, of whom only 46,000 are full-bloods. The rest have been shot, hunted down, poisoned, starved and killed off by the white man's diseases.

Those who survived the first onslaught of white brutality have lived for the past 100 years in conditions of utter degradation — dispossessed, exploited, despised. Many of them still do.

You can see them in any country town, living in camps or settlements on the other side of the creek, sometimes in neat little houses that have been built for them, sometimes in squalid tin sheds and humpies of their own construction — but always apart.

During the interval at the local cinema they stand together under a tree, dark shadows against the dark night before filing back into front rows which nobody else want.

Naturally, their morale is bad. Only too often they are idle, dirty and drunken.

The men find in alcohol their only escape from the humiliations of the white man's world and the only release for the aggressions which they have learned to repress when sober. They cadge for money and squabble among themselves.

The girls take readily to prostitution.

Birth rate high

The birth rate is high, but infant mortality, the result of poverty and ignorance, is appalling. Although aboriginal births are only two per cent of all registered births, they are 10 per cent of all infant deaths, 28 per cent of all the deaths in the one to two year group and 9 per cent of all deaths in the two to four year group.

Infant mortality is three and a half times that for other Australian babies and, if an aboriginal baby survives, it is more than likely that it will suffer from malnutrition and diseases which will gravely handicap it at school and in later life.

They enter school later, progress slower, and finish at a lower level than other children. Few go to secondary school at all, and the number of aborigines who have had a university education, can — literally — be counted on the fingers of two hands.

Illiteracy naturally varies according to the age group, but even among young men of 20 to 24, perhaps one-fifth are unable to read or write. These figures are taken from careful and authoritative surveys; they cannot be denied.

One can see, therefore, why the aborigines are not celebrating the bicentenary of Captain Cook. His coming was a total disaster for their race.

Yet it would be quite wrong and quite unfair to leave it at that. For in the past five years there have been a number of changes that are slowly transforming the situation and giving real hope of improvement.

First, and perhaps most important, there is a remarkable change in the attitude of white Australians.

There is now, particularly among the urban middle-class, widespread sympathy for the aborigines and a genuine wish to do something to ameliorate their lot. Too often, unfortunately, this sympathy has not spread to those classes who have most to do with aborigines in

everyday life — the country people and the working classes in the city slums — but it has at least enabled, and sometimes pushed, federal and state governments to take action.

It is significant, for instance, that the aborigines are nearly always sympathetically treated in the Australian press.

With the exception of Queensland, which still has some archaic laws, all acts discriminating against aborigines have been repealed. Aborigines can and do vote in all federal and state elections. In May, 1967, a referendum was held that enabled the federal government to include aborigines in the census and to over-rule the

states on matters concerning aboriginal welfare.

To these moves should be added the decision of the arbitration court in December, 1968, awarding equal pay and improved living conditions to aboriginal stockmen in the Northern Territory, many of whom had been shamefully exploited.

Advised by the Council for

Aboriginal Affairs, the federal and state governments have also begun to tackle at least some of the four interlocking problems — health, housing, education and jobs — that hold the aborigines in a vicious cycle of poverty, ignorance and malnutrition.

Already, it is fair to say, no aboriginal child need be deprived of any stage of his education by lack of money.

Official recognition in Argentina

Indians get citizens' rights

Reuters

POSADAS, Argentina, — After more than 150 years of independence, Argentina has decided to give citizenship to destitute aboriginal Indians in north-eastern Misiones province — and at the same time to catapult them into the 20th century with compulsory military service and school attendance.

The estimated 1,000 Indians, who barely subsist on wild honey and fish and live in straw huts, will be registered by commissions in their regular halting places and given identity cards.

The decision to officially recognize the existence of the impoverished Indians — the original inhabitants of this

vast country — fulfils a statute passed in 1813, three years after Argentina liberated itself from Spanish rule.

The descendants of once-proud tribes often are hunger-stricken and tattered, with swollen stomachs through lack of nutrition.

The position has grown steadily worse, and the condition of many under-nourished children has alarmed the state ministry of social welfare, prodding it to take notice of the Indians in this remote region.

The state authorities say they will "regularize the situation" by giving them full citizen's right automatically imposing on them civic duties such as military service at the age of 21, and compul-

sor schooling for children. They will also vaccinate children against diseases to which other communities are immune, but which cause havoc in the primitive settlements.

Provincial welfare minister Miguel Soto, backed by a private organization called the Misionera Alter Association (A.M.A.), plans to set up model pilot villages to integrate the Indians into 20th century Argentine life.

Two villages, one to be run by a doctor and the other by A.M.A., will provide housing, schools, a church, and a clinic.

The Indians, accustomed to scouring the forests for food, will receive seeds and agricultural tools in an attempt

to persuade them to take up farming.

But the job will be difficult. The Indians do not trust outsiders, and consider any official visit as possible trouble, or at best a waste of time because their conditions have not been improved in the past.

Argentina's 23,000,000 population now is almost entirely of European stock. Yet 100 years ago, when its population was one-tenth of what it is now, only a fifth was white. Three-quarters were Indian and half-caste, the rest Negro or Mulatto.

But Indians on the central pampas were severely decimated in wars with white settlers and the army a century ago.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Wednesday, April 29, 1970

Wilderness Trader: Hudson's Bay Co.

By D'ARCY O'CONNOR

RUPERT'S HOUSE, Quebec—The customer was drunk and belligerent, and he refused to pay for his cigarettes.

Irked by the man's repeated threats and curses, store manager Marshall Campion decided on direct action. "I took off my glasses, jumped him and got him in a real good half nelson," Mr. Campion says. Then the customer was heaved out the door.

Wrestling might seem an unusual activity for a store manager employed by a large, modern retailing chain. But then, so would building canoes, running a post office and grading furs — all of which keep Mr. Campion busy in this tiny, isolated community 600 miles north of Montreal.

While the Northern Stores Department now contributes only about 20% of the Bay's annual sales, its northern outposts still have a virtual monopoly as a retailer to most of the Indians and Eskimos in the Canadian north. Their only competitors are mail order catalog houses.

Besides selling about \$150,000 worth of merchandise a year to the Indians, Mr. Campion, like many other post managers, runs the community's post office in the back of his store. This chore, he grouches, is "a real headache, especially since I end up competing against myself by handling mail orders" for the catalog houses. (One former post manager in northern Alberta is said to have solved this problem by destroying the catalogs as they came in—a procedure that, besides being illegal, is obviously not condoned by the Bay.)

Mr. Campion's other official duties include managing a small company-owned canoe manufacturing operation. He also presides as a jus-

tice of the peace to enforce migratory bird game laws in the area.

A Community Leader

But it's the unofficial duties that are often most taxing for a Bay post manager. In most villages he's regarded as a leader of the community, along with the local missionary and schoolteacher. The Indians sometimes take their domestic quarrels to Mr. Campion for conciliation, and at other posts where he has worked they have relied on him at times to pull their aching teeth and stitch their cuts. (Rupert's House has a clinic and a full-time nurse.) "The only thing I've ever refused to do is deliver babies," he says. "I leave that to midwives."

Nearby is a modern, comfortable \$30,000 bungalow where Mr. Campion lives with his pretty French-Canadian wife, Lucile, their two young children and Mr. Campion's store clerk, 19-year-old David Rae. In the basement is an extensive library of books, mostly paperbacks, that the 38-year-old Mr. Campion has collected in his 20 years of living in the north.

In other villages, the manager's problems can prove more serious. Desmarais, Alberta, for example, is considered a particularly tough post, according to David Kay, who managed the Desmarais store until he left the Bay three years ago to become manager of a Montreal textile company.

Turnover Is Problem

One of Mr. Kay's first tasks when he arrived at Desmarais four years ago was to cut off credit for the many customers carrying long-overdue accounts. The result: "The local (Indian) band council passed a resolution to lynch me," says Mr. Kay. "From then on, I

Its Storekeepers Buy Furs, Sell Supplies to the Indians As They Have Since 1600s

carried a pistol with me at all times."

Mr. Kay says one of the reasons he left the company was that his customers were "continually threatening me" and "I was in constant personal danger."

The Bay does manage to retain many career employees in the north. Mr. Campion, who has worked at 12 Bay posts in his 20 years with the company, obviously likes his job. "Up here," he reflects, "I'm a big fish in a small pond. Down south I'd be just a small fish in a big pond."

Because of its near monopoly in the north and because many of its Indian and Eskimo customers live on welfare, the Bay is sometimes criticized for charging high prices at its isolated posts. The prices are indeed high, but company officials argue that they're necessary because of transportation costs and a relatively low stock turnover.

"We're in the difficult position of selling food at the highest prices in Canada to the lowest income group," says Ralph Huband, secretary of the Bay's Canadian committee, the Winnipeg-based group of executives who actually run operations. "But," he adds, "we're not in business to service the north—we're in business to make money, like any other retailer."

But while the company may be modernizing operations in many areas, the Bay intends to keep alive much of its colorful heritage.

This summer, for example, Queen Elizabeth will visit Winnipeg and collect a compulsory sovereign "rent" from the company, as stipulated in its 300-year-old charter.

The rent: Two elk and two black beavers.

ROUGH ROCK NEWS

Diné Biólta' Baahane'

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ROUGH ROCK NEWS is published at Rough Rock Demonstration School near Chinle, Arizona, as a news service to the people of the Rough Rock - Chinle Valley area and as a report on progress at the Demonstration School. The Navajo people at Rough Rock control the Demonstration School, which seeks better ways to educate Navajo children through bi-lingual, bi-cultural instruction.



Mary Curley talked last week about weaving as part of the Navajo Culture Program which is conducted once a week. Here, Mrs. Curley talks with Phase IV girls. She explains a type of rug to them.



Billy Sam, a medicine man, came to talk with Rough Rock school children about Seasons as a part of the weekly Navajo Culture Program.

Navajo Culture Program

...in the right direction.

Rough Rock teachers were asked to name the five most important contributions that Rough Rock can make to the national effort to improve Indian education.

The fact that Rough Rock has set up bilingual education in its classrooms was brought up, and it was noted that Rough Rock is among the leaders in the nation in this form of education in that it was the first to set it up in a school serving Indian people. The effort at parental involvement was significantly pointed out. Parents and others from Rough Rock community and the surrounding area are vitally involved in the dormitory and academic functions of the school.

Another of the "contributions" that Rough Rock has made is that the staff and community has made an effort to experiment with methods and material which would best benefit Indian children.

Navajo reading and writing, as the basic tenet of bi-lingual and bi-cultural education, was cited as a significant contribution. The concept of local control in which the school board composed of Navajo people is determining the direction that Rough Rock school is taking was also pointed out.

One teacher pointed out that Rough Rock has made possible a pride in the Navajo people for Navajo ways and certain Anglo ways. It was pointed out that there exists now a healthy militancy to retain Navajoness which did not exist before and does not exist in many communities now.

The recognition of the family as the most important factor in the education of a child was cited as significant inasmuch as Rough Rock school is based on this, although at this time, out of necessity, it still retains the dormitory aspect of most Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools which were described by one teacher as "evil."

The most important contributions that Rough Rock has made are that it has instilled into Indian life the idea that he is capable of directing his own educational endeavors and that an Indian community is capable of making the effort to maintain its language and culture in an institutionalized situation.

Hasbah Charley, who lives below the eastfacing side of Black Mountain, came to speak with the children of Rough Rock school last week. Her home is on a knoll with the sheltering Mountain directly behind, and before her is the beautiful valley, and way in the distance are the Lukachukai Mountains and the pine-wooded plateau towards Ft. Defiance and Windowrock. She spoke on Navajo foods and particularly blue corn meal and its preparation.

Her speaking to the students is part of a Navajo Culture Program which was recently begun. Howard Gorman, a tribal council member from Ganado who is also known as a Navajo historian and story teller, spoke the week before about Navajo behavior. The two speakers initiated the program which will be continued and is part of the cultural education services provided by the Demonstration School.

As with the lack of recognition of the Navajo and other Indian languages, native cultural education has also been neglected in schools. This has resulted, in most cases, in students not regarding their native culture as important and valid as the culture in which they are immersed when they go to school. Before the institution of formal education, in which English speaking was the focal point, was introduced, the child learned the aspects of his people's cultural philosophy and history and behavior from his parents and other kinfolk. But as the child began school, he no longer had as close a contact - sometimes not at all - with his family and relatives and community as he did before. Oftentimes, it was the policy of the school administrators to completely sever the ties of the Indian child with his home. This resulted in the child losing his inherent self-image and faith in his own people. The idea for the Navajo Culture Program is to build respect in the child for what his people

can tell him, can contribute to his formal education.

Speakers from the community will be invited to speak once a week on various subjects (See School Board Items). They will speak to all school children and to staff members during the noon hour. The speakers are all accomplished teachers in the subjects they will relate. One of the ideas, other than its primary one of instilling respect, is to foster understanding on the part of non-Navajo teachers who have not had the opportunity to learn aspects of Navajo life. One of the other purposes is to demonstrate the feasibility of having such a program throughout other schools on the Navajo reservation.

There is a wealth of available Navajo personnel throughout the reservation who can be called upon to impart what they know to students and staff members of schools serving Navajo children. These Navajo people include weavers, silversmiths, medicine men, story tellers, tribal leaders, livestockraisers, and native historians like Howard Gorman. These people are accessible, living in the communities or near them in which schools are located, and who are able to contribute to their children's education and community understanding.

After a speaker has related his subject to a class of students, the teacher will be able to expand upon the material the class has heard. For example, a vocabulary of Navajo words can be compiled from those included in the speaker's material. Class projects could be initiated such as the preparation of foods based on the information the class has heard. Artistic representations can be made by students. Songs, which are part of many Navajo stories can be sung and learned.

Many things derived from Navajo people coming into their children's classrooms can be included in the school's curriculum, and it is hoped this will become a reservation-wide program.



Indian Commissioner, Anyone?

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Louis R. Bruce visited Rough Rock this past weekend. It is reported in another section of this paper. He was very glad to be back, probably felt like coming to a place where you can get away from it all. He mentioned the "Washington upheaval." It's peaceful and slower than the pace of cities, certainly, but we also have our urgent moments. It happened that we might have imparted some of those urgencies to the Commissioner when he was here, although we didn't become overbearing.

The school board president asked when we can expect our road from Many Farms and then on our west to that paved road, which is in pretty bad shape also, coming from that turn-off on the Kayenta to Shiprock road. The Commissioner said, as part of his answer, "I have no control over the Bureau of the Budget." The Indian has heard that so many times, so many times, in fact, that sometimes it seems that it's no use to ask, Why not? Who has control over the Bureau of the Budget, anyway? The Congress for one thing, I suppose, and of course the Congress is made up of men. Who are these men? Are they like ourselves? Yes, I suppose so, although there are differences. For one thing, they may not come from your community and don't know you personally, they may not know what you need, they may not care at all.

"Do you have the responsibility of supervising whoever is in charge of the roads?" asked the board president. The Commissioner is, but there is that thing, which becomes discouragingly redundant, about "no control." What do you do then, just wait? Do you go out on the road with shovel and buckets of asphalt and start paving the road yourself? Probably that would be the thing to do. Down at the Navajo Community College, one of the candidates for the Tribal chairmanship stated that road and plant management would be contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Navajo tribe. The Area Director of BIA was all too anxious and too obvious to second the suggestion. The BIA would be glad to do it. That would be a couple less problems for them. That would be a couple more reasons why the Federal Government shouldn't have to provide obligated services for Indian Americans.

The Commissioner was talking to young people on his trip out here. At the college, the greater portion of the audience which listened was young Navajo people. He spoke sincerely, and although he doesn't speak eloquently or persuasively, they seemed to believe him. Some had reservations (no pun) about what he said, of course: he's not saying anything that hasn't been heard before. Some of these things, nothing came of them, just talk. He told them they better look for financial sources to run educational systems elsewhere because the Bureau of the Budget is cutting back what it gives the BIA.

Before he left Rough Rock, we were sitting out in the hall on the bench, and he mentioned that he had to clear everything he said with the White House. His speeches had to be looked over. What does this mean? Does the White House want to prevent him from telling Indian Americans what they shouldn't be told? I wanted to ask him if the Commissioner was the spokesman for the Indian Americans or the spokesman for the Federal Government? But he was tired.

Who wants to be an Indian Commissioner anyway?

Letters to the Editor

Indian atrocities not comparable to those committed by white man

Dear Mr. Hardwick: This letter is in reference to Mr. Hobart A. Johnson's denunciation of Mrs. Helen G. McClelland because the latter charged Americans should feel ashamed of their ancestors' mistreatment of the Indian as portrayed in the book "Council Fires on the Upper Ohio."

The chief tragedy—among many others—was the massacre of nearly one hundred Christian Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indian converts at the Moravian mission town of Gnadenhutten on the morning of March 8, 1782, by the Washington county (Penn.) militia under Col. Williamson. This was a coldly planned atrocity in which the militiamen deliberately voted to butcher the unarmed and helpless Indian men, women and children. This was done in a fiendish manner by ordering the Psalm-singing converts to advance two abreast between a pair of bloody executioners who forced them to kneel, to bow their heads, and be hatched to death. When the arms of the executioners grew weary, they passed the hatchets along to other militiamen to continue the bloody slaughter. It is incomprehensible that any moral person would not feel a deep sense of shame and revulsion over such a dark deed.

It is most fatuous to attempt to compare Navajo warriors, attacking a tribal foe in full possession of its arms, with this horrible massacre at Gnadenhutten, where helpless prisoners were butchered in cold blood. One begs the question when he suggests present day Navajos should feel a similar sense of guilt as the white Americans. The degrees of crime are vastly different. But this argument is the time-worn one of all white apologists: Demonstrate the Indian was also cruel and then triumphantly exonerate the white man from a grossly greater wrongdoing.

Mr. Johnson castigates the Navajos for stock raiding and the periodic capturing of "slaves" many of whom were later adopted. He speaks of Pueblo and Apache fights, and of the Menominees dispossessing the Sioux (he would have been more accurate if he had said the Ojibway did the dispossessing). But he overlooks the continuous pressure of the white man from the East as the cause. Tribe after tribe was dispossessed—if it were lucky enough to escape extermination. In the steadily compressing lands of the West, the tribes began to fight for elbow room. Nor did the white man ever cease until he had usurped the entire continent.

As to Pueblo and Apache and Navajo quarrels, consult Jack Forbes' "Apache, Navaho and Spaniard" (1940), as well as several other authoritative works. The invading Spaniard was the villain. To divide and conquer, he fomented tribal quarrels, breaking up ancient alliances between Pueblo and Apache.

Furthermore, the white man practiced genocide—"the only good Indian is a dead one"—which the Indian did not. Dr. Howard S.

Miller, professor of American social history at U. of So. Calif., stated in the Los Angeles Times of Feb. 24, 1970, page 1, column 1: "My Lai is no novelty. These kinds of things happened constantly. You can document as many as you want. They (the Americans) exterminated the Indians. There's no future in chasing Apaches up those rocks—all you do is get killed. What you do is wait until winter, until all the women and children are in camp, and then you go in and slaughter them. Kill the generation. This was the premeditated policy of the U.S. government." Cruel shades of Sand Creek, Wounded Knee and the Marias Massacre of Blackfeet! Genocide is presumably a heinous crime. If the American of today feels no guilt for the misdeeds of his ancestors, he should be willing to correct the falsehoods in our frontier history where the Indian is invariably pictured as the villain. Let him admit the white man was the aggressor from the Atlantic to the Pacific and that the sad plight of the Indian today is the direct result of these past misdeeds.

The Navajo "slave-raiding" comment is dwarfed by the enormity of the white man's crime in this same field. It is like complaining over a small leak in the roof when a tidal wave is about to sweep away the house. Dr. S. F. Cook in "The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization" (1943) asserts that the Americans made kidnapping of small Indian children a major industry in California. Practically every fourth household had an unhappy child slave as a servant. Read vol. 3, pp. 50-56, 59-61, 77-78. It can be further stated they also made a major pastime of kidnapping and raping Indian women and girls, many as young as ten and twelve years of age. More than half—55 per cent—of all Indian women in California were seized and outraged by the noble Forty-niners. Read vol. 3, pp. 79-90. The white frontiersmen was a foul individual where the Indian was concerned. By comparison, the Navajo warrior was a shining gentleman!

A favorite scapegoat of all white apologists is the "do-gooder." He is accused of harming the Indian. Actually his sin has been to expose the white man's crimes.

The past cannot be divorced from the present because it shaped the present. Mr. Johnson stands atop the economic heap today instead of the sons of Sitting Bull and Geronimo because of the ruthless conquest of this grand continent and the subsequent exclusion of the Indian from its bounty. If "shame" is too harsh a word, what about a little "humiliation"? Then we might have an honest picture of a gallant Indian defending his homeland from overwhelming hordes pouring in from Europe. This is something the "guiltless" generation could do.

Thank you,
Denton R. Bedford
P.O. Box 71
Camarillo, Calif. 93010

Viet Nam War

Dear Editor: It is hoped, however, that commensurate with our advancement in the "white man's world" we do not lose sight of our rich culture in Navajo tradition.

As you know the "paleface" has taken away (for profit only to themselves) our beautiful trees, our rich natural resources, and many other things of value. But, let them not take away the Navajo in you (for it is all we have left).

An old Indian once said:

"If I knew for a certainty that a paleface was coming to my small house with a conscious design of doing me good, I would run for my life. A smile and the outstretched hand of friendship by a paleface often is more deadly than a rattlesnake."

Today, for example, the Government took beyond our beautiful Navajoland. "The far East is now our far West," they boast. We Navajos have sense enough to ask this question: How can the far East be the far West?

We Navajo always thought that after the paleface exploited our western land the natural boundary of the USA was the Pacific Ocean. Now, the great lesson I wish you to hear in mind, my Indian people, is this.

It is to be remembered from Navajo history that while the great white father in Washington reached for the natural boundary the limits, it provided the paleface with the rationale for pushing all American Indians off the globe of our world.

Keep your eyes open. Continue to work hard and progress for your own needs and comfort, of course. But, also to think proudly Navajo in every step you take through life. Never fight for Government's greed for more land in the far East.

I well understand the euphemisms regarding the war inasmuch as a soldier must obey, rather than to go into the real economic and political reasons (the "commitments" the U.S. has in Vietnam as well as southeast Asia)—why American youth must win the war.

Although we fight bravely against what is called the "Viet Cong"—because it is a soldier's duty never to question his Government's military policy—it is to be remembered that we Navajos were called worse by the paleface warriors who invaded our virgin land in order to control us.

The Vietnamese people are fighting for their national liberation. We Navajo also fought, but as history shows, we lost.

Of course, as a soldier, we must do battle; that is understood. But, someday in the future when the U.S. Government is correctly branded by all civilized nations as a war criminal, the soldier cannot solve his conscience by saying that he was only following orders. We are there (Vietnam) and must do what all soldiers (who must follow orders or else) do, namely, to kill or be killed; indeed, as all soldiers know from the beginning of time, a war is fought in order to survive.

Our Government is not in Vietnam fighting for any ideals; they are in Vietnam and Southeast Asia in order to protect economic investments which belong only to the rich.

The audacity of the U.S. Government who say they are in Asia and Vietnam to stay! The audacity of the U.S. Government when they say to these Americans back home that they cannot afford to lose Vietnam to the Communists! Every thinking person should ask themselves, "Who gave Vietnam to us to lose?"

So the Vietnamese choose communism; so what? It is their country, not ours. They are fighting for their national independence.

Clyde Sampson
MB, NAD LLL
Oahu, Hawaii 96612

Should Indians fight in 'white man's war'?

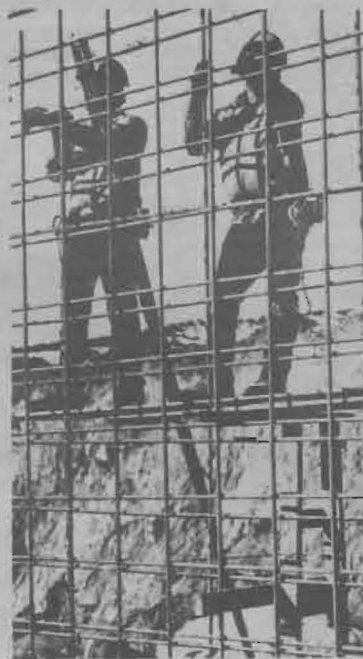
To the Editor: Aside from the tremendous load here at Yale University, I would like to spare this moment to write this letter.

"Grandfathers, should we pick up our rifles again?" My people, I would like to ask you a question . . . "Why are we fighting the whitemen's war?" . . . You might answer, "To contain Communist aggression and keep world peace." Yes, it is quite true, but why are we fighting in a foreign country, or fighting for what was once ours and to protect what is no longer ours? Once free to roam this peaceful countryside, now confined to only a couple thousand acres of reservation land. This is what my people should be fighting for non-violently: Against internal corruptions and the unethical utilization of white business man and many more unsolved problems.

Haphazardly, young Navajo men join Uncle Sam's imperialistic society and find themselves in limbo, somewhere in the midst of mosquito infested foxholes or on training grounds. Some go voluntarily, others go involuntarily . . . Why? Is it that we want personal glory and to be a hero, or just to escape from life's miseries.

A yellow lowdown, cowardly Navajo you may think about me, but you are wrong. As a man, I look at this Vietnam conflict as a senseless war in which Americans have been fighting the Vietnamese for over fifteen years. In 1954, when the French were trying to keep Vietnam a French colony, the United States paid 80 percent of the bill. Today, the fight for United States control of Vietnam continues at a cost of 30 billion dollars with more than 45,000 Americans killed. Among the 45,000 killed, Navajo also added on to the figure . . . As a Navajo, I look at war as if fighting alongside the whiteman, who tried desperately to annihilate the American Indians (Navajo), fighting for what was once ours and now to protect what is no longer ours. Last but not least breaking the Navajo's Magna Carte with the United States government.

Sympathy and worries you leave behind with your parents and loved ones to cope with. Instantaneous transition takes place and many find their ego dodging sniper bullets and struggling to remain alive. Our grandfathers did this, but with reasons for dodging bullets and struggling to remain alive.



Navajos like their Mohawk brothers have taken to ironwork. The reinforcing steel, almost in its entirety was erected in place for the Gravo and Tanner Construction company on the Black Mesa and Peabody Coal job by Navajos. Carl Bergen, who was foreman on this job used seven journeymen and three apprentices ironworkers to complete it. Above are Solomon Bowman and Spencer Charleston.

Consequently, our grandfathers were confined to misery for four long years.

Now I ask you, my people . . . "Will this infamy of the Vietnam War benefit the Navajo's economical progress?" . . . The answer is no. Let me take for example this Korean War veteran Dennis Hosteen, and I quote . . . "Today as I sit at home without a job I think of those innocents in the Vietnam War that will be returning home soon, saying 'Whats' our benefit?' to their fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, children, and friends. For us poor Indians there are none on our reservation." I definitely agreed with this man because it is hard even to find a job during the summer, but it would be much harder for the veterans because all their financial reliabilities will be gone, besides the Tribe's income will one day disappear because the very limited in the natural resources due to the climatic surroundings. As a result, many will leave the reservation and try to look for jobs in large cities forgetting that they are Navajo and that there is a reservation. When this transition occurs, only the less fortunate ones will be left behind in poverty.

What we need on the reservation are youths with determination to open the doors to real progress of the Navajo Nation.

I might have gotten off on a tangent on the Vietnam War, but I still believe that the Indians have no right whatsoever to fight in any wars, due chiefly to the treaties with the United States government.

After receiving my draft classification (S.S.) I was approached by a law student asking me if Indians had the right to register with the draft board. He then told me that the Indians did not have to register nor have the right to fight in any wars because of the treaties forbidding the Indians to pick up another weapon against their foes . . . This is why I headed this letter . . . "Grandfathers, should we pick up our rifles again?" . . . Also, do we have the right to fight alongside the whiteman?

I would be very much interested in your comments about this letter, so would you please write to this address:

Stanley Benally
53 Wall Street
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Shiprock's jail worse than Gallup's

Dear Editor: Why is the tribal council and DNA so concerned about Gallup jail? Which is off the reservation.

Why don't they do something about Shiprock jail? The prisoners are fed peanut butter sandwiches three times a day. No decent mattress—just sponge mattress which isn't worth sleeping on. No blankets and no soap or toilet paper for them. Where are the sanitation people?

Our Navajo people are still human whether they drink or not. I wish our chairman would look into this situation. Where does all the oil money go to? Where is the Navajo people's money going to?

I don't know why they have a cook there. She just sits and waits for her next check.

Our people are starving—those that are put in Shiprock jail.

So start with Shiprock jail first and let the Gallup people worry about their own jail.

We want action on this!

Clarence Bigman
Shiprock, N.M. 87420

Indians Find Protests Bring Results 44

But They Deplore Need to Put on Side Shows To Get Action on Their Problems

THE WASHINGTON POST

April 19, 1970

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

Duane Bird Bear, a 21-year-old Hidatsa Indian from North Dakota, looks back with mixed feelings on the events of the last six months—the sit-ins and invasions and picketing.

"What really hurts me," he said, "is that the extreme becomes the norm. But if we hadn't gone this way, our complaint would be lost in the shuffle."

Phyllis Culbertson, another Indian who is learning the uses of direct action, expressed similar regrets. "You shouldn't have to put on a side show, screaming and yelling in the streets, in order to get something done," she said.

"It's almost," said Bird Bear, "as though you have to attract a certain number of cops before people will listen."

Mr. Culbertson and Bird Bear were part of a recent confrontation that attracted plenty of cops. Last month, Indians seized the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Plant Management Engineering Center at Littleton, Colo., outside Denver, and occupied it for 72 hours. Their complaint: The Indian agency's employment policies are discriminatory—against Indians.

Fifteen people, including Bird Bear, were arrested and the bureau is now listening. "The situation in Denver really jumps now," Bird Bear said. "People want to see change."

The Denver action is part of what adds up to a new offensive in the oldest domestic struggle of them all, the Indians versus the U.S. government. Only Indians now are moving into the demonstrative tactics patterned by the Negro civil rights movement and, more recently, the college protests.

The wave of action started last November when Indians in the San Francisco Bay area seized Alcatraz Island and demanded that the abandoned federal prison site be turned over to them for a cultural center and school. They are still holding it. Another group staged an abortive effort to seize Ellis Island in New York. A series of invasions were launched more recently at the army's Ft. Lawton, just outside Seattle, Wash., where more than 100 have been arrested for trespassing.

For several years, people have been writing and speculating about this brand of militancy developing among the Indians, but skepticism prevailed. The incidents were scattered and not especially successful. More important, the idea of public confrontation seems at odds with the accepted notion of how Indians behave—the passive acceptance bred by history and the poverty of reservation life. That description did not fit many of them, especially the growing number of younger Indians like Bird Bear, many of them college educated, who are busy organizing among their own people instead of pursuing a career in the white world.

While the recent demonstrations were aimed at specific local problems, they reflect two broad issues that are national in scope. One is the growing concentration of Indian migrants in the cities and the problems they

face in adjustment. Many of them were brought there by the government through the bureau's relocation program, which is intended to help reservation Indians with job training and then to find them jobs. Many of them wind up in what they call "Indian ghettos", unemployed and adrift.

The other issue—job discrimination against Indians by the bureau itself—cuts more deeply into the entire range of government programs for Indians, both on the reservation and off. It is not that the bureau doesn't hire Indians. On the contrary, the agency operates under an "Indian preference" provision that relaxes the regular civil service requirements if the applicant is Indian. As a result 53 per cent of the bureau's permanent employees are Indians, according to agency statistics.

But they are not the bureau employees who run things. Generally the Indians are bus drivers and janitors at bureau-operated schools, laborers on reservation road crews, or secretaries and mail clerks in the bureau's Washington headquarters.

According to statistics from the bureau, only 16 per cent of the 1,400 management jobs—GS-12's and above—are held by Indians. Of the 68 reservation superintendents and independent office heads, 23 are Indians. More important, only two of the 11 bureau area officers, which exercise considerable control over reservation affairs, have Indian directors and one of those has only acting status.

The Littleton plant management center, which oversees construction projects for the entire region, has an unusually large number of engineering and technical positions, but among the 28 Indian employees 17 are GS-04 and below. Twelve employees, including Mrs. Culbertson, filed a formal complaint with the Department of Interior's equal employment opportunity office, charging that Indians are excluded from the higher paying and more influential jobs. Similar complaints have been filed by Indian employees at bureau offices in Gallup and Albuquerque, N.M.

For years, the official response has been that the bureau couldn't find qualified Indians to fill technical and managerial jobs, but the protesters don't accept that. The bureau, they point out, operates the schools and training programs that are supposed to be producing more qualified Indians.

"They play that game all the time," Bird Bear said. "If we're not educated, how are we supposed to be qualified? But the training practices of the bureau are a statement in themselves of discrimination. They are saying that Indian people are not capable of running their own affairs."

The present bureau administration, far from denying these accusations, concedes their accuracy, at least in general terms. Indian Affairs Commissioner Lewis R. Bruce, an Indian himself but one who is viewed with great suspicion by the activists, met with the Littleton demonstrators and signed an extraordinary bill of particulars that they presented.

Bruce testified:

"I am aware that discrimination against Indians does exist in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I also realize the effect of this situation is the prevention of Indian people from participating in the formation of their own future... Though these discriminatory practices of the BIA may not be of my own making, rather being a pattern of white attitudes accumulated over the years, I will do all within the power of my office to correct the abuses that now exist."

Among other things Bruce promised to extend "Indian preference" to promotions, to overhaul job training programs for bureau-employed Indians, and to set up a review board composed of Indians to investigate complaints.

Specifically, he temporarily transferred three white men from their top positions at Littleton. He has also promised to appoint a substantial number of Indians to 17 executive positions that he is still in the process of filling for his Washington staff.

But the Indian critics remain unconvinced and the controversy continues. Whatever Bruce's intentions may be, they expect him to be frustrated from above and below, either by his superiors in the Interior Department or by the bureau's 11 area offices, which have long been charged with being bureaucratic bottlenecks capable of side-tracking new policies made in Washington.

The drive for surplus Federal land as sites for urban Indian centers is a different kind of attack. Nearly half of the nation's 600,000 Indians now live off reservations and most of them, either on their own or with government aid, have migrated to cities, particularly in the West and Midwest. No one knows precisely how many are jobless and alcoholic, but the number is substantial. The bureau's relocation program looks successful in its job-placement statistics, but the critics claim that the figures do not tell the whole story.

Nearly half of the 1,100 acre Ft. Lawton Army post overlooking Puget Sound is going to be disposed of as surplus and the city of Seattle wants to buy it for parkland. The Indians want to develop it, instead, as a sort

of "halfway" station for people migrating from the rural isolation of the reservations. Bernie White Bear, a leader in the effort, envisions an orientation and job training center plus temporary housing for those who need time to adjust and find their way around.

"Now," said White Bear, "they come to the city and they get on the down road."

White Bear has lobbied to have Indian groups included in a bill sponsored by Washington Senators and Congressmen to reduce the price local governments must pay for surplus Federal land, a measure introduced to help Seattle buy Fort Lawton.

Enjoying the irony, White Bear noted that the Indian claim predates Seattle's.

March 25, 1970

Indians decline salute Grant

By JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — If Indians had been as wary of paleface perfidy in 1626 as they are today, Peter Minuit would never have gotten Manhattan for \$24.

The chiefs have given a stony reception, for example, to a grand Interior Department plan to celebrate the 100th anniversary of President Ulysses Grant's "peace policy."

Asking an Indian to honor Grant's "peace policy" is a little like inviting a Jew to commemorate Dachau or a Negro to march down Fifth Ave. on Jim Crow Day.

The "peace policy," in fact, turned over Indian affairs to a bouillabaisse in amateur philanthropists, government second-raters and white busybodies. Under this policy, Indians were consigned to reservations as wards of pinch-penny paternalism. This led straight as an Apache arrow to the present poverty and hostility of American Indians.

Nevertheless, Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel's office spoke glowingly on a confidential memo of commemorating "the centennial of the famous 'peace policy' of the Grant administration which provided the basis for our contemporary Indian-federal relationship... Activities will begin in the spring of 1970."

Hickel's Uncle Tom-Tom Indian commissioner, Louis

Bruce Backs Indian Affairs Bureau Work

March 26, 1970

BILLINGS, Mont. (AP) — Opportunity, headed by Vice President Spiro Agnew is oriented to deal with Indians who do not live on reservation.

Bruce said the bureau plans to hire more Indians for positions of authority. He said 60 per cent of the agency's 14,000 employees are Indians, but said most of them are in low-pay positions.

The commissioner said the bureau is not opposed to Indian attempts to take over Alcatraz Island, Ft. Lawton or Ellis Island. He said, however, he was concerned about the cost of developing federal property that might be taken over by militant Indians.

Bruce made his comments during an interview following a meeting of the Montana Intertribal Policy Board.

The commissioner said the National Council on Indian

salute Grant

Bruce, was quick to do the Great White Father's bidding. He called a meeting to prepare to honor the famed Republican Indian oppressor, President Grant.

Indian regional leaders were invited to Washington to help with the planning. From as far away as Alaska came representatives of many of the great Indian tribes—Sioux and Navajo, Cherokee and Choctaw, Blackfeet and Onandaga.

But they balked at rubber-stamping the Hickel plan to honor the whisky-drinking old Mexican fighter whose policy herded Indians into a century of penury. The secret minutes speak eloquently of the pow-wow.

"The Grant 'peace policy'... was not successful," the Indians grumped at the meeting. "The policy was bad."

What Hickel and his aides had hoped would be a celebration suddenly turned into a denunciation of the Nixon administration's Indian policy.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, said the Indians at the meeting, must be shaken up and Indians put in all "key jobs." Political hacks must be fired. Finally, the Indian delegates threw out the discredited Grant celebration idea and announced their own National Council on Indian Awareness—to promote the "concept of self-determination and assertion."

But the back-bitten Affairs Bureau chopped the limb off just when it looked as if the Indians were doing something for themselves. Instead of backing the braves, they dried up the money. And in a back-lash of bickering and bureaucratic throat-slitting, Commissioner Bruce ratified the firing of the dynamic executive secretary of "Awareness," June Myers, a Cherokee.

Kennedy Scores Indian Program

Special to The Washington Post

MISSOULA, Mont., April 18—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy told some 2,000 Indians and whites at the three-day Kyi-yo Indian Youth Conference at the University of Montana today that the Nixon administration has "run out of time" in its program to help minority peoples.

The Massachusetts Democrat outlined areas where he said the administration has "sold America's natives short." He said the administration had promised to increase aid to Indian health and education but had failed to use even the \$2 million appropriated by Congress for health aid.

Kennedy said administration officials had pledged during the campaign to reorganize the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be more responsive to Indian demands. But he said that not only has Indian Commissioner Louis Bruce not im-

plemented these reforms but has even failed to carry out previous directives to increase Indian employment in the BIA. Kennedy suggested that the Indians back legislation introduced by him last year which would call a White House conference of American Indians and Alaska natives. He said such a conference would "spotlight the needs and wishes of the Indian peoples themselves." His speech wrapped up three days of discussion on Indian needs. Leaders of the conference called it "a gratifying experience." Kim Maker, a Osage Indian woman from Oklahoma, said that "for the first time Indian young people have left a conference with a new feeling of cultural identity and pride. They are the foundation upon which our new Longhouse must be constructed."

"The government has been overprotective of Indian rights only in the sense that John Dillinger 'overprotected' banks by robbing them before other criminals showed up"

Vine Deloria Jr.

Legal Battle Is Waged

45

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

The American history books usually have a few kind words for Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, who fought a brief but celebrated war with the United States in the summer of 1877.

He was remembered for his "civilized" warfare on scalping of the wounded, no dismembering of captives. He was also a brilliant general. From his home valley on the Wallowa River in eastern Oregon, he led 300 warriors against 5,000 soldiers in an epic chase across the mountain ranges of the Northwest.

Battling and eluding for a thousand miles, they were finally surrounded at Bear Paw Mountains, Mont., just short of the Canadian border. Chief Joseph surrendered and grudgingly agreed that his people would return to their home territory and the reservation.

Claim Pressed

Yesterday, the Indian Claims Commission in Washington heard the rest of the

story. A lawyer called it "genocide" and posed a novel legal question for the five-member commission: Should the federal government pay damages for the destruction of a people?

"These people were never allowed to go home," the attorney said. "The Joseph Band of the Nez Perce was imprisoned and split in two, and many died. It was destroyed as a social, political and economic unit of great validity. The effects of this destruction are apparent today in the living remnants of that band."

None of the living remnants was in town to hear their case argued. By various estimates, they number 100 or so, living on two Western reservations, the descendants of the 400 or more who were marched away from the surrender grounds in Montana.

They were represented yesterday by a Washington lawyer, a white man named Henry Taliaferro, who hopes to establish a dollar value for the death of their native culture.

The Indian Claims Com-

mission was created by Congress to consider the historic injustices against Indian tribes and to decide on the damages due the survivors.

But yesterday's complaint is something different.

The commission has approved millions of dollars in claims for the nation's tribes, but these have been based on the land and minerals that were taken from them, material losses which are easier to measure.

As recounted by Taliaferro and his only witness, an anthropologist named Verne F. Ray, what happened to Chief Joseph and his people was a long ordeal. They were marched to Ft. Keogh on the Yellowstone River, then 400 miles southward to Ft. Buford on the Missouri, then another 400 miles southward to Ft. Lincoln. The Army then loaded them onto railroad freight cars for shipment to

At yesterday's hearing, Taliaferro did not suggest how the agency might fix the value of destroyed culture. That will come later

if the commission decides that the government is, in fact, legally responsible for its destruction.

The Indian claims lawyer from the Justice Department, John Sullivan, argued for dismissal on legal grounds. He cited various precedents to argue that the commission cannot entertain such a claim.

The government, Sullivan pointed out, has already awarded several million dollars to Nez Perce Indians, including the survivors of the Joseph Band, for the land they lost through coerced treaties and the intrusion of white settlers and gold seekers of the 19th century. That exhausts the government liability, he said.

Ft. Leavenworth, Kan., where the Indians were camped by the Missouri River bottom for the winter. The following summer, the Army completed the relocation, sending them on to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. An Indian agent's report from Oklahoma noted:

"The bad effects of their location at Ft. Leavenworth manifested itself in the prostration by sickness at one time of 260 out of the 410, and within a few months they have lost by death more than one quarter of the entire number."

For eight years, the survivors were kept in the Oklahoma territory where they were supposed to become farmers. But their existence in the Northwest had been based on horses and cattle and hunting, a "roving" economy which made them one of the most prosperous and independent bands of the region, according to Ray.

In addition, Chief Joseph complained that the land given them in northeast Oklahoma was not fertile. Two wells had been dug to 60 feet without reaching water.

In 1885, the government agreed to return them to the Northwest, but not to their home valley. It split them in half, sending some to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho and the others with

Chief Joseph to the Colville Reservation in Washington.

There they joined other tribes with different languages and cultural backgrounds and conflicting histories in the long struggle with government treaties.

"They were a people apart" and still are today, the anthropologist testified.

Because the filing of new claims was long ago halted by the claims commission, Taliaferro doubts that the point of the Nez Perce case could be applied in more than a few other cases. One of them is a client of his—an Indian village in Alaska that was bombarded and destroyed by a U.S. Navy vessel.

set in a long forgotten dispute between white men and Indians.

"If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian . . . he can live in peace. Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow."

"All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the Mother of all people, and people should have equal rights upon it. . . We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. Let me be a free man . . . free to work, free to trade, free to choose my teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself . . . and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty."

—Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce in 1879

Indian on Claim Commission Seeks 'Fair, Legal Decisions'

By DAVIS MERRITT
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Bentley Blue, Richard Nixon's Indian, is politically useful as a symbol, but that's as far as his Lumbee heritage takes him. The rest he does on his own.

As a member of the Indian Claims Commission, he sees himself as simply one of five even-handed hard-working commissioners trying to undo some of the damages done to the first Americans.

The white members — all of them have been white until this year — have for the most part made the best efforts they can to do justice, he says.

Nixon promised the American Indians during the campaign that he would put an Indian on the Claims Commission, and Bentley Blue was it.

WHY BENTLEY Blue from Pembroke, N.C.?

"There aren't but about 30 Indian lawyers in the country," he said in his quiet voice. "And not many of them are Republicans. So somehow, he heard about me."

That was shortly after Nixon took office and Blue was in the early list of appointments, hoisted from his Kingsport, Tenn., law practice and municipal judgeship.

Blue, round-faced and stocky, sits with the four other commissioners in an effort to repay the nation's Indians for the land seized, purchased or won in battle from the tribes. To do so, they have the tricky task of deciding what the land was worth when it was seized.

THIS MEANS searching old treaties, government communications and explorers' reports to decide which tribes occupied which land when.

Setting, in 1969, real estate values for, say, 1841 is a tedious and often contentious task that has extended the life of the Claims Commis-

sion far beyond the ten years intended in the original 1946 law which established it.

The current authorization runs out in 1972, but Blue doesn't think the commission will be through by then, either.

The commission has unusual powers.

The legislation setting up the commission gave it broad leeway not only to decide legalities but also to correct dishonorable deals on a basis of equity.

A TYPICAL case is one

now pending concerning 8 million acres in Iowa. The land was purchased from the Sac and Fox tribe, under a treaty, for 25 cents an acre in 1841. Was the tribe "snookered" by the government land dealers then? The commission will decide by trying to establish what the land's true value was in 1841. That's what the tribe will get, in 1969 money.

Blue doesn't see himself as an Indian when it comes to such decisions. It's a judicial proceeding based on law, fact and fairness, he says.

Drawn-Out Indian Cases Testing Congress' Patience

By DILLON GRAHAM

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Indian Claims Commission wants more time to settle long standing tribal land payment suits against the government but Congress may refuse to listen.

"I'm not willing to give the commission more time," says Sen. Frank E. Moss, chairman of the Senate Indian affairs subcommittee.

"Everyone is frustrated by its inability to get these claims concluded."

The commission expires April 10, 1972, but Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall says another five years is needed to decide claims based largely on old treaties after Indian wars, stretching back over 150 years. He says the commission has completed only 54 per cent of its work.

Congress in April 1967 extended for five years the term for the commission, established in 1947, and increased the number of commissioners from three to five to help with the workload. Some legislators then warned the commission to wind up their cases—no more time.

One of the warners was Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., chairman of the Senate Interior Committee. He says now he's against extending the life of the commission and believes it can wind up its work in its remain-

ing two years.

Sen. Quentin Burdick, D-N.D., also has said he opposes an extension. He suggests having U.S. district courts take over the handling of whatever Indian cases might be left.

However, Paul Neibell, an attorney handling Indian cases, and Bruce Wilkie of the National Congress of American Indians, told a reporter they believe Congress will continue the commission.

"The commission is making progress, slow though, but faster than it ever did before. It has expedited trials and set up a calendar to hear at least the first phase in all cases this year, Neibell said.

But Moss told a reporter he feels "the majority of the members of the Senate Interior Committee feel that no more time can be given, that the cases must be finished in the two years remaining." He said Congress might have to tackle the settlements through legislation.

Rep. James A. Haley, D-Fla., chairman of the House Indian affairs subcommittee, said he wants to take a look at just what the commission has left before deciding on an extension.

"It looks like those fellows will never finish," Haley said. "We may have to transfer the Indian cases to the U.S. Court of Claims."



Chief Joseph (Himaton Palatikit or Thunder coming from the water up over the land). 1832-1904. Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives

Chief Joseph - Indian Hero

Film Library Quarterly 46

Winter 1969-70

Some Wrongs Righted on Film

Vanishing American: Part I

Ballad of Crowfoot. 9 mins., b&w Price apply. *Producer and Distributor*: National Film Board of Canada, 680 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10019

End of the Trail. 53 mins., b&w, \$275.00 *Producer*: Project 20 of NBC-TV, 1967. *Distributor*: McGraw-Hill Text Films, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

Mass for the Dakota Sioux. 31 mins., b&w rental \$20.00. *Producer*: Bruce Baillie, 1964. *Distributor*: Filmmakers Cooperative, 175 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y.

Now that the Buffalo Are Gone. 6 mins., color, \$100.00. *Producer and Distributor*: Genesis Films, 972 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212

The criteria for choosing these films for attention is that they are sincere, even dedicated, and technically inventive.

It is not necessary, when using these films, to put them together on a program. Each one stands well on its own and can be used to initiate discussion. *Ballad of Crowfoot*, running only nine minutes, can be coupled with either of the longer films for additional impact. For a program centered on anthropology, the short film could be shown effectively with such other films as *The Hunters* (Contemporary), *Culloden* (Robeck).

Ballad of Crowfoot, by a teen-age Crow Indian, William Dunn, centers around a ballad which he created. The story of his tribe is sung with guitar accompaniment and told with old photographs, paintings and early films. Dunn's personal view of the history of the Crow's degradation and current poverty is an angry poem from inside the empty barrel; a searing indictment of white genocide.

End of the Trail records the effects on the Plains Indians of white expansion from 1849 to the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. Don Hyatt, director-editor, uses drawings, paintings, still photographs and some silent film footage to illustrate imaginatively and with change of pace the revealing script by Phillip Reisman. Walter Brennan, himself half Cherokee, delivers the narration, which, based on seventeen years of research motivated by a passionate curiosity about the Indians, consists of direct quotations from Indian captives, court records, archives, scouts, officers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and missionary records. Understanding the Westward Expansion from the Indian viewpoint is a new and moving experience. This is, perhaps, the most important film that has been made on the Indian.

End of the Trail could be used well on a program with *Ishi in Two Worlds* or *Ballad of Crowfoot*. Related materials include the recording *The Star Maiden and Other Indian Tales*, read by Anne Pellowski, and Peter Farb's book, *The Rise of Civilization: the History of the Indians in North America* (Harper and Row, 1968), a study of social organization from band to state and of the kinds of disintegration caused by the fatal impact of alien (white) culture. *Mass (for Dakota Sioux)* uses the concept of the Roman Catholic Mass (Introit, Kyrie, Epistle, Gloria and Offertory). Bruce Baillie, a leading avant-garde film maker, translates the ritual into a formal visual statement made up of five major sections. There is a brief introduction showing a lone, sick figure lying on a city sidewalk ignored and untended by passers-by. During the final Offertory section, the blanketed figure is again seen, dead on the pavement. The body is covered and removed, past indifferent people, accompanied by the final chant. The Mass and chants were recorded at the Trappist Monastery in Viva, California.

For audiences familiar with the formal Mass this is compassionate visual litany made more ironic by the realization that a deeply religious people was destroyed by the people who are of the very Western culture which created the Mass.

Reaction to this film has been mixed: some audiences are deeply moved, others are unable to see or feel and thus to understand the emotion and power of Baillie's statement. It is therefore advisable always to give a brief introduction when showing this film. It is also wise to check the print, as the distributor has some poor prints in circulation. *Mass* is not an easy film to program.

White Man Speaks with a



Split Tongue Forked Tongue Tongue of Snake

by Ralph Friar

A FEW YEARS AGO I was watching a group of young American Indian boys, armed with toys made in Japan, playing cowboys and Indians on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. But none of the boys wanted to be Indians! One of the lads, almost in tears, was yelling that he did not want to be an Indian because the others kept beating him up and he was always losing the game. This was not surprising, no one wants to be a loser. The Indians really did lose and Hollywood has never for one moment let us forget it. Although most of us do not share the tragic plight of that little Sioux boy, Hollywood's misrepresentation of the native Americans has affected us and is affecting all of our children. Hollywood started playing cowboys and Indians almost as early as the cameras started cranking and film's stereotypical Indian has been part of our culture for over half a century.

William S. Hart, who attempted to portray the West as authentically as he could on the screen, did so because of his first reaction to films: "I saw a Western picture. It was awful," he said. Having lived among the Sioux, he was referring to the Hollywood idea of the West, a West which never existed. The Indian Wars, however, did exist and offered ample grist for Hollywood's mill. The Indian Wars may be just a polite way of referring to genocide or a war of extermination. "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" was no idle phrase; the white man and his government wanted the land and took it by any means possible. Many tribes were involved in this death struggle to protect themselves, their homes and their lands. To name all the tribes would result in an almost endless list; to point out only a few would be an insult to the memory of the many thousands who died. The important thing to remember is that each tribe had its own individual culture, customs and traditions; each was like a nation unto itself. For Hollywood there seemed to be only two tribes — the Apache and the Sioux. Their popularity was probably a result of the widespread notoriety given them and their leaders during the Indian Wars, and the infamous exhibition and exploitation of Geronimo and Sitting Bull in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Everyone came to gape or sneer at these dastardly creatures they had so often read about. But soon the "red devils" became matinee idols and Sitting Bull sold autographed photos of himself at a dollar a shot.

Hollywood feels that constant use of these two tribal names brings instant recognition and appeal, and the costume houses stock more of their tribal costumes than any other. This, of course, is nonsense for Hollywood has perpetuated what can be best described as the "instant Indian kit," suitable for any and all Indians. So it makes no difference which tribe is depicted in a film; the costumes make them all look alike. This, in part, prompted Dr. Frederick J. Dockstader, head of the Museum of the American Indian and, himself an Indian, to say: "The war-dancing, feather-bonneted, horse-riding Indians we usually see in movies and on TV are impersonations of the Plains tribes. Most American Indians lived, dressed and danced differently. This is like using Irishmen and Irish customs to portray all

Indians. And judging by the expressions of the contributing Sioux, they want no part of it."

Because the Indians never win, it would be hoped that some gratification might be realized from their beating Custer at the Little Big Horn. But even this is denied us. Prior to 1950, native Americans were still being depicted as cruel, bloodthirsty, inhuman savages. So we have Anthony Quinn as Crazy Horse in *They Died With Their Boots On* (1941) becoming an evil wizard of ough. And we have Errol Flynn as Custer who is really too nice a guy to get it at the end.

The "enlightened" era begins

After 1950, Hollywood started its cycle of sympathetic Indian films. The Indians were now seen as misunderstood and mistreated. The chiefs were wise, noble, proud, grand and all the things a good Boy Scout should be. We have J. Carroll Naish as Sitting Bull being a wise, patient, benevolent patriarch, (Jean Hersholt with feathers) and Victor Mature as Crazy Horse, a noble, proud religious Indian nut who keeps having visions and hearing celestial soundtrack music. Savage or sympathetic, one Indian stereotype replaced another and the Indians still lose in more ways than screen battles. They have even lost the right to play themselves.



Oh, you might find a few extras in the background for atmosphere, but that is about all. Every other race and nationality has played Indians and the front office always demanded stars to portray the leading Indian characters. Even though Hollywood has learned that a so-called star playing a role badly is not much box office insurance, non-Indians are still cast as native Americans. Obviously a Tony Curtis, Ira Hayes in *The Outsider* (1962), or a Rock Hudson who played the title role in *Taza, Son of Cochise* (1954) does not an Indian make.

Suppose Hollywood were going to film the life story of Martin Luther King. Let's kick around the casting. Who do we get to play Dr. King? Well, we need somebody who shows great strength. How about Burt Lancaster? He is very good at strength. Besides, how much harm can it do? Would it change history that much? Sounds ridiculous? No more so than Mr. Lancaster playing Jim Thorpe, without anyone raising a fuss. Who else might be good for the part? Well, we need somebody who can portray great inner resolution. How about Charlton Heston? He is good at great inner resolution, especially when he plays an Indian. Now can you imagine our casting the part of Mrs. King in this way?

Of course no Hollywood producer would be insane enough to have a white actor play a black, yet this happens constantly with Indian roles. Just a few non-Indian actors who have played Indians are: Don Ameche, Joey Bishop, Chuck Connors, Richard Dix, Vince Edwards, Doug Fairbanks, Sr., Thomas Gomez, Sessue Hayakawa, Victor Jory, Boris Karloff, Martin Landau, Tom Mix, Ramon Navarro, Hugh OBrien, Elvis Presley, Gilbert Roland, Woody Strode, Robert Taylor and Robert Wagner. Some actresses are: Anne Bancroft, Cyd Charisse, Yvonne de Carlo, Rhonda Fleming, Paulette Goddard, Audrey Hepburn, Jennifer Jones, Susan Kohner, Virginia Mayo, Mabel Normand, Mary Pickford, Donna Reed, Sylvia Sydney, Lupe Velez and Loretta Young. The list could go on *ad nauseum*, *ad infinitum*. And even when Hollywood does condescend to cast Indians, they are usually misused. They are made to act as Hollywood thinks they should, always folding their arms, for example, because somebody once thought it looked Indian. Today, with the so-called enlightened treatment and sympathetic attitude toward minorities in the mass media, no one would dare play blackface. Yet just about anyone plays redface. The worst ally and the best enemy the Indians could have is a sympathetic friend.

Hollywood influences Indians

The promulgation of the big lie, repeated often enough and loud enough until



it becomes truth, has done much to corrode the Indians' cultures. Instead of their influencing Hollywood, the reverse has come true. The beaded headband is purely a Hollywood invention so commonly associated with the Indian that even native Americans must now wear them. Indians have also adopted Hollywood costuming with all its feathers and fake Hong Kong beadwork. Organizations specializing in Indian Lore have developed phony "Mickey Mouse" costumes in which many native Americans now dress in order to appear Indian. It is my theory that the headband was popularized during the Wild West Show and Hollywood's early days in order to prevent the Indian wigs from falling off. The fact that Indian styles have become a fad has not helped either. High and low fashion have further bastardized traditional Indian dress. Yes, the Indian has been rediscovered for the umpteenth time, and this time everybody is now on the side of the noble savage. Hollywood, too, has climbed aboard the repainted Wild West bandwagon. But if you scrape away a little of that paint, you might find the same old wood rot.

Still another stereotype

With the 'tell-it-like-it-is' Westerns, we may be confronted soon by a new stereotype — the "real" Indian. On May 12 and October 6, 1968, the *New York Times* ran articles on *Willie Boy* (working title), a new "Indian antihero" in a film written and directed by Abraham Polonsky. The two Indian leads are being played by Robert Blake and Katharine Ross, both white. All the publicity releases mention this being a real film about real people with Katharine Ross saying: "I didn't want to make her a Hollywood Indian." But the fact that she is white does make her just that — another Hollywood Indian. In *Life*, February 7, 1969, Shana Alexander in "The Sad Lot of the Sioux," says "Our latest Indian madness has not escaped Hollywood's round and avid eye, and some movie people are now spending four million dollars on the most authentic Indian movie ever made, *A Man Called Horse*." At the moment, its one claim to fame is that it is probably the first film to have a titled white, Dame Judith Anderson, playing an Indian.

The Minneapolis Tribune

THE VOICE OF MINNESOTA AND THE UPPER MIDWEST

MAY 2, 1970

Indian History as Told by Whites

WHITES tend to view Indians as overly sensitive in complaining about movies, books and advertising that portray Indian people negatively. "It's only a movie," or "That's the way it was," or "It was only meant to be funny"—these are the common white reactions.

It always is easy, of course, for members of the majority society, well-assured of status and identity, to be relaxed about how minorities are portrayed. Hence many people could not understand why Indians became upset a few years ago over being depicted so regularly as gangsters in a television series. It is not so easy for minorities, as they strive to develop or maintain a positive identity, to be sanguine about a consistent pattern of portrayal that distorts and degrades them.

This is the context that helps to explain the reaction to the movie, "A Man Called Horse." The picture tells of an English lord who is captured by Sioux Indians, is treated first as a beast of burden, and then becomes a

leader among the Indians. Some Indians have praised the film for its authentic treatment of Indian history and culture, but others contend that the movie depicts the Indian as a savage and shows the white man once again to be superior.

What the Indian critics seem to be saying is that even when a producer seeks to portray true Indian culture (a Sioux Indian served as technical adviser), the white man winds up on top ("All in 90 minutes," said one Indian). What these critics also seem to be saying is that they would like, for a change, for the Indian people to be pictured in movies, books and advertising as proud, dignified people in their own right, not always as "problems" to be pitied or as early-day "savages" to be "understood."

Those who feel that Indians are overly sensitive might consider how white Americans would react if whites were consistently reminded of their past role as slaveowners, portrayed in their history, of violence, and caricatured as greedy materialists. All in fun, of course.

SAN FRANCISCO

Fair Knocks Off Konocti

Him Konocti, the disparaging cartoon Indian used as a symbol of the Lake County Fair for 20 years, is no more.

All Fair materials with the symbol have been destroyed, in voluntary compliance by the Fair board to a Federal court civil rights suit by Lake county Indians.

Hearing that, Judge Albert C. Wollenberg yesterday declined to issue an injunction against the Fair. But he also denied the board's action to dismiss the complaint, since

the Indians are asking for \$225,000 in damages.

Denis Smaage, a deputy attorney general, said the board destroyed all posters, billboards, stationery, checks and other items showing the Indian caricature, and even spray-painted out the symbol on the backs of thousands of folding wooden chairs.

In their suit, the Indians of the El-Em Band of Pomo Indians, claimed Him Konocti is an "ugly, awkward, simple-minded, stereotyped cartoon caricature" which "in-

accurately and disparagingly portrays Indian artifacts and costume" and portrays Indians in a "derogatory, defamatory, false and degrading manner."

Fair officials last fall, in response to a petition from the Indians, said they could not stop using the symbol because it would cost too much money.

But they did destroy the symbol almost immediately after the civil rights suit was filed by George Duke, director of California Indian Legal Services.

Indian Unit

Members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) issued a protest Thursday against the movie "A Man Called Horse," alleging that the film portrays Indians as savage, cruel and ignorant.

Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of AIM, said the group plans protest demonstrations at the Lyric Theater, 711 Hennepin Av., to coincide with today's opening of the movie.

AIM said in a statement yesterday that makers of the film "totally humiliate and degrade an entire Indian nation"; "make sure all Indians are savage, cruel, and ignorant"; make a white man become an "Indian" hero, and desecrate the Indian religion, among other things.

Bellecourt said the protest was voted unanimously by 40 to 50 AIM members Wednesday night after a meeting with the film's producer, Sandy Howard, and one of the film's stars, Corinne Tsopei.

The AIM statement called on the public to boycott the film, saying "every dollar going into the theater box office is a vote for bigotry!"

Bellecourt said AIM is seeking support on the issue from blacks, civil rights groups and the college community.

AIM has been in contact with Indian groups in other areas of the country. Bellecourt said, in an attempt to launch a nationwide protest against the movie.

THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE

Apr. 25, 1970

Will Jones

47



When producer Sandy Howard faced the members of the American Indian Movement in Minneapolis to defend his movie, "A Man Called Horse," it was a complete standoff.

Howard, who has been making a big point of the thoroughness of the research that went into the picture since he first began work on it, didn't back down a nickel's worth on his claim of authenticity.

And the representatives of the Indian community didn't budge a fraction of an inch from their position that the picture is utterly degrading.

One of them told Howard: "You're saying, 'Make it more authentic, so the Indian will hate himself more and the white man will be even more condescending.'"

Corinna Tsopei, the Greek former Miss Universe who plays an Indian maiden in the film, went along with Howard to the AIM headquarters. In the film she falls

in love with and ultimately marries the white man called Horse, played by Richard Harris. She has been touring in behalf of the picture for several weeks, and her visit to E. Franklin Av. may have been her only appearance on the entire tour at which she didn't hear herself introduced as The Talented and Lovely.

Dennis Banks of AIM presented her to the group this way: "I would like to introduce Corinna, who played the sellout."

She took some heat from a number of young Indian women present, who resented that Howard didn't cast an Indian actress in the part. Howard answered that he had tried to find an Indian actress, but couldn't find one who was professionally qualified. He said his search took him to the Hollywood acting school for Indians operated by Jay Silverheels, and the mention of the actor who played the Lone Ranger's old Tonto brought catcalls and more cries of "Sellout!"

Howard largely kept his cool, except when confronted with reports, which he said he had heard before, that the Rosebud Sioux who went to Mexico to appear in the film were given poorer food and housing than were others who worked in the film. He bristled, said the reports were vicious lies, and offered to fly an Indian representative to Mexico at his expense to check the facts. Nobody took him up. The report has been circulated that Indians who worked in the picture had to live in tents in Mexico. Howard said he took over an entire hotel for them, and retained the hotel's chef to prepare the lunches served to the entire company at the location sites, as well as breakfasts and dinners for the Sioux at the hotel. Some of the militants at the meeting said the Indians who worked in the picture were sellouts, too.

Is 'Horse' a 'Red Tarzan'?

One of the barbs shot at Howard, not by an Indian but by one of several blacks who attended the meeting, also carried the extra sting of research.

"What you did, you created a new Tarzan, a Tarzan for the red people," Howard was told.

His previous film credits, all in a budget range far below "A Man Called Horse," include direction of a couple of Tarzan epics that starred Gordon Scott. Howard denied that his current film's white hero is shown to be superior to the Indians. He insists that there's only one scene, a battle in which Harris fights alongside the Sioux against the Shoshones, in which the white man's own background (military) puts him one-up among the Indians.

All in all, it was a session that seemed destined from the beginning to generate more heat than light. At one point I was asked for my opinion of the film, but I used the newspaperman's copout, reserving the right to keep any opinion bottled up and fermenting until the moment it leaks out of the typewriter.

Now it's leak time, and I guess I was disappointed that the Indian militants spent so much time berating Howard for making them out to be vicious savages when the greater offense, in this white man's eyes, was that he made them out to be so dull and stuffy.

These screen Sioux are proud, fierce, and utterly formal. Howard likes to call attention to such touches as the fact that the color blue does not appear among the Indians until some raiding Shoshones arrive on the scene, because the Sioux of the period did not have the color blue.

Authenticity Can Lead to Stuffiness

No Indian makes a move in the picture that doesn't seem to be based on some custom or ritual, and even in a supposedly lighthearted scene in which the Indian women are waggling their fannies at the white man in derision, there is a sense of devotion to form and carefully researched custom that's about as leaden as the late Cecil B. DeMille's approach to the Scriptures.

Perhaps the Sioux really were that stuffy, but I have the oppressive suspicion that a comparable situation would be for some film historian of the future to set out to make a movie that tells it like it really was among the white men in the United States in 1970, and end up with the entire cast in white tie and tails.



"What Do You Mean 'We, Paleface?'"

CIRCULAR.

TO THE OREGON EMIGRANTS.

GENTLEMEN:

It being made my duty, as Superintendent of Indian affairs, by an Act passed by the Legislature of Oregon, "to give such instructions and directions to Emigrants to this Territory, in regard to their conduct towards the natives, by the observance of which, they will be most likely to maintain and promote peace and friendship between them and the Indian tribes through which they may pass," allow me to say in the first place, that the Indians on the old road to this country, are friendly to the whites. They should be treated with kindness on all occasions. As Indians are inclined to steal, keep them out of your camps. If one or two are admitted, watch them closely. Notwithstanding the Indians are friendly, it is best to keep in good sized companies while passing through their country. Small parties of two or three are sometimes stripped of their property while on their way to this Territory, perhaps because a preceding party promised to pay the Indians for something had of them, and failed to fulfil their promise. This will show you the necessity of keeping your word with them in all cases.

Dated at Oregon City, this 22d of April, 1847.

GEO. ABERNETHY,

GOVERNOR OF OREGON TERRITORY AND
SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Movies/Judith Crist

NEW YORK

4 May 1970

Complaints aplenty are provoked by A Man Called Horse, as pretentious a lo-the-poor-Indian piece of pap as has ever tried to be, as its blurbs proclaim, "definitely a film of the seventies... a motion picture that takes its strength by 'telling it like it was.'" Small doubt that production designer Dennis Lyn-ton Clark has come up with an 1825 Northwest Territory Sioux village that tells it the way the Museum of Natural History dioramas have been telling it to school kids. And screenwriter Jack DeWitt, using a Dorothy M. Johnson novel, and director Elliot Silverstein have come up with some Sioux doings that tell it the way Hollywood's been telling it forever and on.

It's that old chestnut about the British milord out hunting in Ameddica who's captured by the noble savages and abused by the squaws and young until he knocks off a couple of marauding Shoshones and wins himself a feather. Then he falls in love with the chief's kid sister and proves himself brave enough for her; he fights staunchly against the Shoshones again but they knock off his brother-in-law and his pregnant wife, and he sadly sets out by himself to return to England.

All the Indians talk Sioux, including such Indians as Dame Judith Anderson, on hand as the chief's grim mommy, Buffalo Cow Head; or Fiji Islander Manu Tupou as the chief, or Corinna Tsopei, a former Miss Greece, as the chief's kid sister, all mixed in with members of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation.



World Ambassador

TATANGA MANI-MAN WITH A MESSAGE - WALKING BUFFALO

March 20, 1871 -- a great day in Morley, Alberta. It was on that day that little Tatanga Mani (Walking Buffalo) was born. In the years that followed, he was adopted by white missionary John McDougall, educated in white men's schools, returned to the reserve at Morley to advise and guide his people, and finally in his old age, was asked to act as an emissary of peace on behalf of the Canadian Government.

Join our Stoney brothers and hear his words:

"Nobody tries to make the coyotes act like beavers, or the eagles behave like robins. Christians see themselves as set apart from the rest of the animal and plant world by superiority, even as a special creation. Perhaps the principles of brotherhood which the world urgently needs come more easily to the Indian."

"Do you know that trees talk? Well, they do. They talk to each other, and they'll talk to you, if you will listen. Trouble is, white people don't listen. They never listened to the Indians, and so I don't suppose they'll listen to the other voices in nature. But I have learned a lot from trees: sometimes about the weather, sometimes about animals, sometimes about the Great Spirit."

"We were lawless people but we were on pretty good terms with the Great Spirit, creator and ruler of all. You whites assumed we were savages. You didn't understand our prayers. You didn't try to understand. When we sang our praises to the sun or moon or wind, you said we were worshipping idols. Without understanding, you condemned us as lost souls just because our form of worship was different from yours."

"We saw the Great Spirit's work in almost everything: sun, moon, trees, wind, and mountains. Sometimes we approached him through these things. Was that so bad? I think we have a true belief in the supreme being, a stronger faith than that of most of the whites who have called us pagans. The red savages have always lived closer to nature than have the white savages. Nature is the book of that great power which one man calls God and which we call the Great Spirit. But, what difference does a name make?"

"We had none of your denominations to split us, to introduce hatreds in the name of religion. We had no man-made guides to 'right living'; nature was our guide. Nature is still my Bible, and I've just returned after many days of studying it."

"I'll tell you what I think. We were on better terms with the Great Spirit before the white man came than we were after he confused us by attempting to frighten us into joining his churches. As devil worshippers, they said we were heading right down the road to hell. Frighten us? Who wouldn't be frightened if they were told they'd burn in a lake of fire forever if they didn't accept certain teachings. The white man meant well. Many of the

missionaries were my friends, but they underestimated the Indian faith when they used fear to make us change. There is no such thing as hell in our native religion, and we can never imagine the Great Spirit choosing to inflict everlasting torture on man as a punishment."

"As I understand nature's ruler, he would not restrict the truth to a few favoured humans, allowing the others to remain in eternal darkness. If the Great Spirit is prepared to reveal secrets of importance to people, he will give all humans in all lands an equal chance of getting that enlightenment."

"My people have been searching for the truth for generations, and they continue to find it. All races of people have conducted such searches. Perhaps that explains why nearly all the world's religions have points in common, like charity, forgiveness, and belief in life after death."

"Crowfoot of the Blackfoot tribe was a thinker, as everyone agrees, but he never gave up his native religion. They coaxed him, but he held on to his own beliefs. The old chief didn't ridicule your religion and its teachers, but his own faith brought him enough satisfaction and comfort. The same could be said about Piapot. For years he was under pressure to change. He didn't try to convert white men to his religion, but he hated bigotry and he had no time for people who contended that the white man's religion was inspired by the Creator but the Indian's was not. Who do they suppose inspired the Indian's religion?"

At 87 years of age in London, England, he said: "It's not right raising kids so far from nature. I suppose your boys and girls have never seen pussy willows, robins building nests, or grass covered hills. This pavement is fine for cars, but it is hard medicine for children."

"Hills are always more beautiful than stone buildings, you know. Living in a city is an artificial existence. Lots of people hardly ever feel real soil under their feet, see plants grow except in flower pots, or get far enough beyond the street lights to catch the enchantment of a night sky studded with stars. When people live far from scenes of the Great Spirit's making, it's easy for them to forget his laws."

In Germany: "I remember the war years. We were led to hate the Germans. Now I think they are good people. I'd pitch my tent here anytime. I'll never hate anybody again. Hating hurts me more than it hurts the other fellow."

To all Indians, he said: "You see, we lost our land and our freedom, but we don't have to lose all our Indian ways and habits. As good Indians, we can make a substantial contribution to Canadian culture. It may not have occurred to many white men that red, black, and yellow peoples might have some good ideas about satisfying the world's needs. I'll never try to justify the foolish fighting and scalping my people did, but in some ways, we had better ways of living. At least we kept our fighting to small wars, whereas the so-called civilised whites go in for big conflicts."

"There's a lot of madness in the white man's world. We think whites would be better off to slow down and live closer to the soil and forests and growing things, instead of galloping around like stampeding buffaloes in outback country. If they would take some of our advice, they might find a contentment which they had not discovered in their mad rush for money and for the pleasures which they think it will buy."

To all White Men, he said: "It's strange, but in trying to find solutions to Indian problems, the authorities speak to nearly everybody but Indians. Many of us could offer sound advice on this question. But remember, we're proud of our race, and we want to continue to be Indians. I was born with a bronze skin and I like it. Some of my friends were born white or black or yellow. They were not consulted. But that's all right. There are yellow roses, white roses, and red roses and the fragrance of one is about as nice as another. I hope my children will live in a world where people of all colors can sit and work together without having to conform completely to the majority's will... You must accept us as Indians who want to be Indians and who are proud to be Indians."

Death claimed our wise brother December 26, 1967, and the entire world mourned. Any fool can be quarrelsome and belligerent. Being half good and half bad takes neither effort nor skill. But being a man of peace requires bravery.

-- Da Na Waq
(White Beaver)



K. J. H. H.